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ART. I.—PROCESSIONS.

THE great historic spectacle, which was witnessed in June by hundreds of thousands of the subjects of our beloved sovereign, has past and gone. It has been described in brilliant and glowing lines by the pens of many ready writers. The last roll of the drum had hardly died away, as the end of the cortège entered the gates of Buckingham Palace, ere full accounts of the display were flashed throughout all Her Majesty's dominions. In many respects it was an event unequalled in the history of the world. We can safely say that never has such an amount of personal affection been shown by a people towards their reigning monarch, and never has such affection been so deservedly earned. For centuries, however, processions have been a favourite means of doing honour to the great, and a glance at some of the most famous on record may not be out of place.

Not the least remarkable feature which distinguishes the members of the *genus homo* from the lower ranks of creation is their capacity and fondness for organising themselves into processions. Animals, no doubt, 'proceed' from place to place, sometimes in a more or less regular manner, but we cannot call, say a string of ducks, a procession; the idea of which always implies something out of the ordinary routine of life, a certain ceremonial solemnity. In its motion it must be decent, orderly, even rhythmic, and the success of such a func-

tion therefore depends very much on the capabilities of those taking part in it. 'He is a very fine little fellow,' said a distinguished ecclesiastic of a brother whom nature had not gifted with an imposing presence, but he is no good in a procession.' A dignified mien on the part of the persons composing it goes a long way, no doubt, towards the success of a procession, but this is not sufficient in itself: there must also be numbers. It is a moot point how many people are required to make a procession. Will two do? If so, the first procession we have on record must have been that of our first parents from the Garden of Eden. It is generally admitted that a procession of two is hardly worthy of the name, but opinions may differ. An eminent Court official was one day heard to describe the ceremony of presenting an order-let us call it the Order of the Rose-to a foreign potentate, to whose court a small mission had been sent for that purpose. It was, indeed, to that of the King of Bohemia, whose son, Prince Florizel, after a brilliant though somewhat erratic youth, sank, as we have been told by a famous writer, into respectable obscurity in London. The eventful day of the presentation arrived, and the nobleman to whom the duty of presenting the order was entrusted was ushered into the presence chamber with his two subordinates. What happened is related in the words of one of the latter, the official above mentioned, 'Jones and I formed an avenue,' he said, 'and the Marquess walked up it.' Here, then, we have an avenue of two, and a procession of one, but this extremely attenuated ceremony can hardly be taken seriously as falling under our subject.

It may be assumed, then, that a reasonably large body of persons is required to make a procession, enough to make a respectable 'train' either preceding or following the principal personage in the function. The earliest processions of which we have an account are generally connected with religious celebrations, and it is to the Church, of all creeds and throughout all ages, that we owe the most splendid examples of processional art. Solomon installed the ark in his new Temple with a large and impressive ceremonial procession; the Greeks and Romans, on the occasion of the festivals of their various

divinities, adopted a like method of celebrating the day; the hieroglyphics of the ancient Egyptians show us that they had most elaborate processional rites in connection with many of their religious fêtes; the Buddhist Church is remarkable for the conspicuous part which processions play in its worship; but the most awful and impressive instance of a religious cortège must have been that in which the Aztec priests wound round the spiral stairs of their towering temples, and, on the summit, cut the palpitating heart from out the breast of their wretched victim. The Christian Church, adapting as it did many of the ceremonies and customs of the older religions to its own uses, did not fail in course of time to make processions a very distinctive feature in its ritual, and both its eastern and western branches developed the ceremony in a very high degree. The Reformation in England, and still more in Scotland, had the effect of almost entirely abolishing for many years all processional adjuncts to the service of the Church, but in more modern times their capabilities for impressive and symbolic display are again beginning to be utilised not only by the clergy of the Anglican communion, but even, it is said, by sober Presbyterian ministers, who have not the fear of John Knox before their eyes. But ecclesiastical processions form a class by themselves, which, at present, we need not discuss.

Apart from the above, then, processions may broadly be divided into military, civil and state, the last being frequently a mixture of the other two. The military procession does not include the ordinary operations of a soldier's life, and we cannot call the spectacle of a regiment on the march, however fine in itself it may be, a procession. To give it that character it must be something out of the usual routine of duty. Perhaps the most splendid example of a military procession must have been the triumph accorded to a successful Roman general. Along the via sacra through the crowded forum, every coign of vantage being filled with excited spectators, passed the stately cortège. The senators arrayed in their purple-striped tunics led the van, followed by musicians heralding the rich display of the spoils of the conquered kingdoms; then came

the white bulls destined for sacrifice along with the attendant priests; the standards and other insignia which had been taken in battle came next; after these the captive leaders, some of whom were cruelly butchered in the adjacent Mamertine prison ere the parade had ended, tasted along with a crowd of inferior prisoners all the bitterness of defeat and disgrace. The presents and other marks of respect bestowed on the hero of the day were then exhibited on high; and the lictors, their fasces wreathed with laurel, immediately preceded the Imperator himself, who sat, or rather stood, on a circular chariot drawn by four horses. He wore a gold embroidered robe and flowered tunic, and held in his right hand a spray of laurel, and in his left a sceptre, his head being crowned with a laurel wreath. Behind him came his grown up sons with his legates and tribunes, all mounted, and after them the equites, while the procession was closed by the whole body of infantry, their spears crowned with laurel. As a spectacle it must have been magnificent, though the physical discomfort of the chief actor in it must have been great. Standing on the floor of a springless chariot he must have had some difficulty in preserving a dignified equilibrium, with both his hands occupied, while his head, bare under a burning Roman sun, must have been uncomfortably tickled by the honourable though inconvenient wreath of laurel. In ancient days too they painted him scarlet from top to toe, but the advent of more civilised times brought relief from that last indignity. Added to all this the fullest licence was on such a day given to the soldiery, who were free to chaff their general to their hearts' content, and no doubt many an old score was paid off in some coarse or ribald witticism.

Coming from ancient to modern times the most striking military procession which has taken place in our own day—partaking also of the nature of a triumph—was on that memorable January morning in 1871 when the German troops entered the conquered city of Paris. But how different from the Roman display! No tiers of exultant and animated spectators ready to welcome the victorious battalions, nothing

but empty streets and darkened windows: it was, however, one of the historical processions of the century.

But military processions are, after all, only a small branch of the subject. When we turn to civic life the opportunities for organising such ceremonial functions become much more frequent. From mediæval times down to a comparatively recent period funerals were the most common occasions when the natural desire of the community to form itself into a procession or to see a procession formed by others found fullest scope. The history of funerals has yet to be written, but when it is, it will be found that the processional element formed a large part of the ceremonies connected with them. The knowledge that his body would form the principal feature of an imposing cavalcade soothed the last hours of many a man in days gone by; the family, though the expense might cripple their means even more than the death duties do now, found that it added to their importance in the country, and, with more or less cheerfulness, resigned themselves to the duty of seeing it carried through in proper style; the persons who attended considered that it shed a kind of reflected glory on themselves, and found the obsequies perhaps a serious, yet not an altogether unpleasant, social function. Royal funerals have naturally always been on a grand scale. Not to mention the burial of Queen Eleanor, the consort of Edward I., whose body was carried in procession for twelve days, from Hardby, in Lincolnshire, to London, both Queen Elizabeth and her successor, James I., were interred with great pomp, the chief feature on both occasions being the elaborate heraldic display. In each case, also, the waxen effigy of the sovereign was displayed on the top of the coffin, these figures being still in existence in Westminster Abbey; and at the funeral of James, the car was designed by the great Inigo Jones himself. When Queen Mary, the wife of William III., was buried, the procession was on a most elaborate scale, and though no effigy was exhibited, as in former times, the heraldic decoration was very profuse. But no royal interment exceeded in impressive ceremonial the rites accorded to Britain's greatest naval and most distinguished

military heroes. Shortly after this century opened, the body of Nelson was lying in state at Greenwich; from thence it was brought by water to Whitehall, and then carried with great pomp and circumstance to its last resting-place in St. The art of the period was not such as lent itself to the very graceful treatment of such a ceremonial, and it is not surprising to find doubts expressed as to the suitability of making the hearse in the shape of the ship with which the Admiral's name and fame had latterly been so indissolubly connected, but there can be no doubt that the whole display was one for a generation to remember. It was not for half a century later that anything similar was again to be witnessed. Once more the portals of St. Paul's were opened to receive the remains of one whom the nation delighted to honour, and who had fought its battles on land as bravely and successfully as Nelson had done on sea. Many persons still alive remember the funeral of the Duke of Wellington. It was a splendid and memorable sight; no honour that could be paid to the illustrious dead was omitted. The attendant train was so large that it took an hour and a half to pass a given point, and few of the million and a half spectators who were estimated to have witnessed the ceremony, had a dry eye as they saw the last of the great Duke, to whom the country owed so much.

In few countries did the desire to have a grand funeral take hold of all classes of the community, both gentle and simple, so firmly as in Scotland. If the poorest classes could not look forward to having an imposing procession when they were carried to the churchyard, they at least spared no effort to have the 'dead-clothes' of the finest and handsomest material. These were generally provided long before the decease of the person who was ultimately to wear them. Lovers of Scottish fiction, as it used to be before the advent of the 'kailyard school,' will remember the inimitable scene in Miss Ferrier's Inheritance, where the heroine and Uncle Adam pay a visit to a cottager's house, where they find the dead-clothes airing at the fire, the person for whom they were destined being certainly bed-ridden, but showing no signs of approaching dis-

Uncle Adam incontinently thrust the whole parapharnelia into the fire, exclaiming, 'There, that'll gie them a gude toast for you,' to the consternation of the mistress of the house, who hysterically sobbed, 'Eh, sirs! The bonny claes, that cost sae muckle siller!' as she made an ineffectual effort to save them; 'the ill-faured carl that he is to tak' upon him for to set low to ony honest man's windin'-sheet.' Higher up in the social scale the aims were, of course, more exalted; a long procession, attended by heralds and 'saulies,' and adorned with mourning banners and other symbols of woe, were essential. This feeling was not confined to members of the nobility, in whose case such a display might be deemed a fitting termination to their earthly career; the lesser barons, the smaller lairds, would seem not to have been able to rest in peace unless they were borne to their graves with an ostentatious ceremonial quite out of keeping with their real importance when in life. Many official records, kept by the heralds who superintended the arrangements and marshalled the processions, still exist, and they show to what an extent the practice prevailed. If the distance from the house to the grave was too short to admit of a sufficiently long 'tail' being developed, the procession was started in an entirely opposite direction, and circumambulated the neighbourhood in numerous convolutions. All this display cost money, and not the least expensive part was the feast which invariably closed the day's proceedings.

The usual order of the funeral procession of a nobleman or gentleman in Scotland was as follows:—First came 'an old poor man' carrying 'the little gumpheon' (gonfalon) with a morthead painted on it; after him marched as many poor men or 'saulies' as corresponded with the number of years of the deceased; they also carried spears or rods having small flags with the family arms painted on them. Then came the master stabler or other servant with a banner composed of the livery colours: then another servant bearing a large standard with his master's full armorial achievement: after this was carried another morthead called the 'honourable gumpheon.' Then came the 'branches,' to the number of four or eight, represent-

ing the paternal and maternal descent of the deceased to two or four generations, thus, Paternal, father, father's mother, father's father's mother, and father's mother, Maternal, mother, mother's mother, mother's father's mother, mother's mother's mother. The arms of these different families were carried by gentlemen generally relations of the family. More heraldic escutcheons followed, then the heralds who had charge of the procession, and in the case of a nobleman his coronet and parliament robes immediately preceded the coffin, which was covered with a pall, richly embroidered with coats of arms and 'epitaphs.' The chief mourners attended the coffin, and the procession was closed by a long train of general mourners. Details, of course, varied with each individual case, but the above may be taken as the arrangements of an average funeral of a Scottish nobleman or gentlemen in the seventeenth century. Sometimes they were of much greater magnificence: the culminating point indeed of Scottish funerals may be said to have been reached in that of the Duke of Rothes, Chancellor of Scotland, who died in 1631, and whose obsequies were conducted on a scale of grandeur never before approached. The body was borne from Holyrood House to St. Giles, and it may safely be said that Edinburgh never saw such an elaborate funeral. It is impossible to describe it in detail here, but the curious on such matters will find a full account of it in Arnot's History of Edinburgh, six solid pages of which it fills, or in the second volume of Nisbet's System of Heraldry: the print collector too may be glad if he can add to his portfolio 'a fine draught and figure thereof, done with china ink, in four large sheets of Lombard Paper,' a valuable representation of the procession.

Several other fine pictorial representations of funerals are in existence. The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland possess a beautiful roll of the funeral of a Scottish nobleman: Queen Elizabeth's funeral procession was pourtrayed by William Camden, Clarenceux King of Arms, and the funeral roll of the father of her great Chancellor, Sir Nicolas Bacon, Lord Keeper, is still in existence: of foreign works there need only be mentioned a splendid folio illustrating the burial of Albert the

Pious, Archduke of Austria and Stadtholder of the Netherlands, who died at Brussels in 1621. The engravings were executed

by Jacques Francquart, and are excellently done.

The above instances serve to show the fascination for some persons of ordering and carrying out the arrangements for the last disposal of these poor bodies of ours; and it is well to note them if only by way of contrast with the latter day desire for simplicity and quiet in similar preparations. forefathers would not have quite understood this feeling: their ideas on the subject are well displayed by the story told of the wife of Frederick I. of Prussia, the sister of our own first George. When she was on her deathbed she overheard one of her attendants observe how severely her removal would afflict the king, and that the misfortune of losing her would plunge him into the deepest despair. She, knowing the character of her good-natured but vain husband, said with a smile, With respect to him I am perfectly at ease. His mind will be completely occupied in arranging the ceremonial of my funeral, and if nothing goes wrong in the procession he will be quite consoled for his loss.'

The acmé however of magnificent and impressive ceremonials is not either in military triumphs or in the solemn pageantry of a funeral, but in Royal and State processions. We have pictorial representations of some of these, and descriptions of many more: it must ever be borne in mind as to the former that there are such things as ghost processions, that is, we have representations, and very elaborate representations too, of processions which never occurred. There is, for instance, a splendid series of woodcuts by Andreani after the pictures by Mantegna, now in Hampton Court, of 'The Triumph of Julius Cæsar,' but perhaps the best known is the 'Triumph of Maximilian,' a colossal work never finished, but which in its present state consists of 135 engravings on wood by Hans Burgmair, taken from the original paintings on 109 large sheets of vellum, now preserved in the Imperial Library at Vienna. In wealth of detail and exuberance of imagination these plates have probably never been surpassed: indeed no procession could have been so grand as that depicted: but

although the actual scene never took place the engravings are none the less valuable as giving us correct representations of the dresses, armour, and general equipment of the period. Other ghost processions which may be mentioned are one giving portraits of Luther, Melancthon and other Reformation leaders, and another representing the triumph of John Sobieski, on assuming the Crown of Poland after the defeat of the Turks at Kotzen in 1674, engraved by Romanus de Hoogte.

We turn with greater interest to the record, whether by pencil or pen, of the great State processions which have actually taken place. These were in mediæval times more frequently styled pageants than processions, consisting as they did not merely in the progress of an imposing train from one place to another, but in the display of something more, as we shall see immediately. Sir Walter Besant somewhere says that the grandest procession ever seen in this country took place, in his opinion, on the occasion of the return of Henry V. from Agincourt, but it really was not of very exceptional grandeur. All the processions of the 15th and 16th centuries were accompanied by 'pageants,' which word was used to denote not the whole ceremonial but certain specific parts of it, generally consisting of erections from which persons supposed to represent abstract qualities, such as Justice and Virtue, or notable personages of Antiquity, issued and delivered speeches, or performed some other act. In the case of Henry's procession, which we may take as an example, we are told that, after being received at Blackfriars by the mayor, aldermen, and a large number of citizens, he encountered at London Bridge a giant and giantess, the former bearing the keys of the city on his staff; at the other end of the bridge there was a tower, with St. George thereon, and a number of boys in white raiment, with wings, sang an anthem to an organ accompaniment. On Cornhill there was a tent decorated with the armorial bearings of the King, St. George, St. Edward, and St. Edmund, and under the tent an assemblage of 'prophets,' clad in gold, and with crowns of the same metal. They performed the somewhat inappropriate duty of letting loose a number of small birds and singing a psalm. The latter

performance was repeated in the ward of Cheap by the Apostles, who also executed the very unapostolic feat of setting the pipes of the conduit flowing with wine, to represent, it is said, Melchizedek receiving Abraham after his victory. There was also a castle garrisoned by girls with timbrels, who symbolised the welcome given to David after killing Goliah. More winged boys sang a Te Deum, and scattered small coins; the tower of the conduit at the west end of Cheap was surmounted with pavilions, from each of which a damsel dropped golden leaves upon the king; on the tower itself was a canopy supported by angels, on the top was an archangel, and on a throne the sun in its splendour, and angels playing and singing!

All this to us savours of pantomime, and we cannot get rid of the association of the footlights and the flies. But the proceedings were taken in all solemnity by our less sophisticated ancestors; they had not yet emerged from the period of the miracle play, and the appearance of giants and boy-angels did not impress them, as it would us, with a sense of the grotesque. They were common adjuncts to all processions, and as for the flight of the birds, it appears to have been originally taken from a practice at the sacring of the Kings of France. It was certainly used in royal processions in that country; there is a beautiful miniature in the Chronique d'Enguerrand de Monstrelet, showing the entry of Charles VII. into Paris in 1438, where two oiseliers are letting fly flocks of birds from cages on the ground, while the king on horseback, under a blue canopy, emblazoned with golden fleurs de lys, and attended by his chivalry, passes by.

The most magnificent of all such pageants was that great one in Bologna, on the occasion of the coronation of the Emperor Charles V. as King of Italy and Lombardy, by Pope Clement VII., in 1530. 'The period,' as has been said by a writer on the subject, 'was one when Italian costume was at the height of its picturesqueness in all the glory of embroidery on cloths of gold and silver, and armour at its utmost splendour of artistic design, being gorgeous beyond measure in chasing and inlaying with the precious metals.' The artist of

the forty plates which illustrate the procession was Nicolas Hogenburg, of whom not much is known save that he was born in Munich about 1500, and died at Mechlin at the age of 44. Whoever he was, there can be no doubt about his genius, for his drawing and disposition of the various groups in the pageant is masterly. It is impossible within the limits of an article like the present to enter into much detail as regards this wonderful procession; we have civilians, magistrates, soldiers, ecclesiastics of all grades, and officials of all sorts, depicted in their habits as they walked; heralds are crying the Emperor's largesse, and scattering coins and medals; officers of State carry the imperial sceptre, iron sword, globe and crown, while Clement VII. and Charles V. advance together in robes of State, under a splendidly embroidered canopy. The train is closed by horsemen, 'clad in complete steel '-every detail of which is carefully given-followed by the German and Spanish soldiers on foot. No allegorical figures are represented, but, on the other hand, we have some very vivid realities of life. A fountain spouts wine, which is being eagerly caught by the crowd in all kinds of vessels, one man drinking out of his shoe; many being on the ground overcome with the liquor. We see also, drawn with all the exactness and character of a sixteenth century Hogarth, the cooks turning a spit on which an ox, stuffed with birds and other small animals, is being roasted, while bread is being given away from great tubs to the people, some of whom hurry off with it, and others quarrel over its distribution. It is altogether a wonderful and lively representation of a great historic event.

There are many other Continental processions of which the record has come down to us. Among them may be mentioned two at Antwerp, the first being on the occasion of the landing of the Duke of Brabant in 1582. The worst feature in the procession was probably the Duke himself, if we are to believe Motley's description of him. 'He was,' says that historian, 'below the middle height, puny, and ill-shaped. His hair and eyes were brown, his face was seamed with smallpox, his skin covered with blotches, his nose so swollen and distorted that

it seemed to be double. No more ignoble yet more dangerous creature had yet been loosed upon the devoted soil of the Netherlands.' He was, however, received on a bright winter morning by the silent Prince of Orange, whose own end was then so near and vet so unsuspected, and conducted with magnificent state, and in a procession which included all those allegorical features so characteristic of the age and the taste of the Hollanders, to the town of Antwerp. years later at the same place another great pageant was seen at the entry of the Duke of Burgundy, and in the pictures of this cavalcade we recognise several of the cars and allegorical erections used on the former occasion, from which we may conclude that they were kept in stock and utilised whenever an opportunity presented itself. There is also an interesting set of drawings representing a water festival on the Arno at Florence in 1664, on the occasion of the marriage of the Grand Duke. The galleys and barges are of the most extraordinary and elaborate design, and each is under the command of a mythological deity or hero with appropriate attendants. This period was indeed distinguished for the wonderful work of the builders of state barges and state coaches: of the former we have a good example in the engraving of the Coronation of William and Mary in 1689, when their Majesties went by water to Westminster: of the latter there are some beautiful plates in a singular work published at Rome in 1687 containing an account of the entry of the English Ambassador, accredited to the Pope by James II. This embassy of Lord Castlemain is treated of in detail by Macaulay, and does not seem to have been very successful diplomatically. He made, however, a great display, and his carriages were profusely covered and decorated not only with the usual scroll work and heraldic ornamentation, but with large allegorical figures both before and behind.

Leaving unnoticed the records of many splendid Continental pageants we may glance at some of those which have a greater interest for us, inasmuch as they took place either at our own doors or in connection with our own realm. One of the finest sights ever witnessed must have been that meeting between

Henry VIII, and Francis I. near Guisnes on Sunday the 7th of June, 1520. So grand was the display that a French annalist has remarked that many of their nobility carried their mills, their forests, and their meadows on their backs. There is a picture of the event in the Windsor Collection which was exhibited at the Tudor Exhibition some years ago: the procession was in the circumstances chiefly of a military character. but some of the great officers of state, such as the Earl Marshal. the Marquess of Dorset, and others, along with Garter King of Arms, were present. The king himself was clad in cloth of gold, with a jacket of rose velvet, while Wolsey was arraved in violet velvet. If contemporary chroniclers bear testimony to the scene as having been one of unusual magnificence, we may be certain that it was very grand indeed, as such things were in those days judged by a much higher standard than in ours. Costume was at its finest and, though it is difficult to realise in these democratic days, the bearing and manners of the higher classes were such as to enable them to wear it with distinction and ease. They grew up in it, so to speak, and it was part of their continual environment: while in any modern pageant, however grand, in which unaccustomed costume is worn, the spectator has always an idea that the wearers of the dresses are wishing themselves out of them and in their club smoking-room arrayed in a shooting coat and trousers.

We have remarked how great a part allegory played in the processions of the Middle Ages: the taste for it in such a conjunction endured for a long period, and continued to be popular even after the advent of the new learning, and when the people were far removed from the influence of the mystery or miracle play. It was indeed in the days of Queen Elizabeth that this feature of public pageants perhaps reached its culmination. In Scotland a very good example of it was seen at Edinburgh a fortnight after Queen Mary landed at Leith on that miserably wet August afternoon in 1561. On the 2nd of September she rode from Holyrood to the Castle and had an early dinner there. After that she rode down the Castle hill in state under a canopy of purple velvet, borne by sixteen of the maist honest men' of the town clad in velvet gowns and

velvet bonnets. She was met by fifty young men attired as moors with blackened faces: behind her rode in a cart 'certain bairns' with a handsome casket of silver gilt, which at the end of the proceedings they presented to her as a 'propine' or gift. At the Tron she passed through a 'port' made of timber. on which were children singing 'in the majst heavenly wise.' Under it was a cloud opening with four leaves, in which was 'ane bounie bairn,' who descended like an angel and delivered to Her Majesty the keys of the town, together with a handsomely bound Bible and Psalm-book, a gift we may imagine not altogether to the Queen's liking. 'This being done the bairn ascended in the cloud and the said cloud steekit.' The cortège then proceeded on its way to encounter further down the street maidens representing Fortune, Justice, and Policy. After looking at the Cross and seeing the people with glasses drinking the wine that flowed from its spouts the Queen had certain addresses presented to her, an ordeal which was again undergone at the Nether Bow, where there was also a dragon on a 'scaffet.' The dragon was burnt and a psalm was sung, after which Her Majesty was free to return to Holyrood and take her well-carned repose. Mary's son, the young King James, had a somewhat similar experience when he entered Edinburgh in 1579. King Solomon's judgment was the first allegory presented to his view: was it a presage that the King would ultimately earn the name of that wisest of monarchs? The 'cloud that steekit' was this time superseded by a brazen globe; speeches were made by Peace, Plenty and Justice in the Greek, Latin, and Scottish languages, much no doubt to the edification of George Buchanan's pupil, while Religion harangued him in Hebrew at the entrance to St. Giles, where he heard a sermon preached. The dryness of the discourse may possibly have been corrected by the sight afterwards of Bacchus seated on a gilt hogshead distributing wine in bumpers. But apart from a certain element of the grotesque the whole procession must have been very striking, as the King was attended by about a thousand gentlemen on horseback, and the usually dirty streets of the town were strewn with flowers, while the houses were all hung not only with

'magnifick tapestry,' but also with 'painted histories and the effigies of noble men and women.'

When James re-visited his kingdom in 1616, no procession seems to have been organised, though his welcome was elaborate and cordial. Charles I., however, had an experience of the allegorical pageant in its most intense form. Jonson had shown that poets of the highest class were not above lending their talents to insuring the success of such entertainments, and we know that William Drummond of Hawthornden wrote some of the verses which greeted His Majesty's ear on this occasion. It would be tedious to go into the particulars of the procession; it is sufficient to say that, instead of Peace and Plenty, and their attendant dames, the figures in this show were of a more poetical character than had previously been the case. Nymphs, representing Edinburgh and the Muse of Caledonia, duly declaimed their speeches of welcome; Mars, Minerva, and Mercury, all appeared, while Endymion and the nine Muses on the top of Parnassus no doubt gave excellent effect to Drummond's verse.

Apart from the allegorical features of the procession, it was interesting from two facts: first, that two English heralds, York Herald and Norroy King-of-Arms, took part in it along with their Scottish brethren; second, that an awkward incident took place as the procession was being marshalled outside the town. A contest for precedence arose between the eldest sons of Earls and the Lords of Parliament: so hot did it become that the whole cavalcade was brought to a standstill, and we can fancy how uncomfortable the mild and gentlemanly king must have felt when these hot-blooded Scottish subjects of his were squabbling about their places. Why the Lyon (Sir James Balfour, who tells the story himself) did not roar at them and lash his tail, it is difficult to imagine, as he was the proper officer to have decided the dispute. Ultimately, however, the matter was referred to the King, who gave his decision in favour of the Earls' sons, and so the dispute ended.

The most national of all Scottish processions, and one

unique in its way, was the 'Riding of Parliament,' when the members rode from Holyrood to the place of meeting arrayed in their robes of State, and with 'foot-mantles,' and attended by a number of servants proportioned to their rank-from a duke, who was entitled to eight lacqueys, down to a Commissioner for a burgh, who had to be content with one. 'honours,' i.e., the crown, sceptre, and sword, were carried immediately before the King, if present, or if he was not, before the Commissioner. And so the brilliant train wended its way up the picturesque Canongate, through the Netherbow, and past St. Giles, all the street having been specially swept for the occasion, to the Parliament House, where they found the High Constable sitting on a chair. Rising from his seat, that official saluted the members one by one, and handed them over to the gentlemen of his guard, who conducted them inside the house, where the Earl Marischal and his deputies showed them their seats. The whole proceedings. were of an exceedingly ceremonious character, and the procession must have been a very quaint and interesting one.

But it is to coronation processions that we must turn if we wish to realise fully the magnificence of a solemn State ceremonial. The records of these are, as may be imagined, ample. Though the procession on the actual day of coronation necessarily travels but a short distance, there used to be for centuries a royal progress through London on the day before. In 1236, we are told by Matthew Paris, Henry VI, and his newly-wedded wife, Eleanor, rode through the city, which was adorned with 'rich silks, pageants, and a variety of pompous shows,' attended by the mayor, aldermen, and three hundred and sixty citizens, all richly apparelled, and each man carrying in his hand a gold or silver cup in token of the privilege claimed by the city of being the Chief Butler of the kingdom at a coronation. From that time onwards there is hardly an English sovereign who has not made a triumphal progress through the capital of his kingdom. After James I., dinner seems to have been the principal feature in these royal vists to the city, but the allegorical pageant was still in force as late as Queen Anne's time, and it even flickered up in a last

expiring gleam when George III, and his Queen were entertained by the Lord Mayor in 1761,

We have now left these customs far behind, and the manners of our time require other methods of satisfying their sense of fitness on the occasion of a procession. But while castles, giants, embodied virtues, and winged children are all dead, with no chance of revival, we cannot but confess that we have also parted with many picturesque adornments to such a function. Our garments, comfortable though they may be, have gained that comfort at the cost of elegance and rich-On solemn occasions, no doubt, such as a coronation, the old-time dresses are once more assumed, but the capacity for wearing them with freedom is gone; our carriages, useful and even handsome though they may be, cannot attain to the imposing presence of the old-fashioned coach. As for horses which gave their name to the 'cavalcade,' would it be possible for the Lord Mayor of London to find four or five hundred city gentlemen to go with him on horseback to meet the sovereign? In modern times then, in default of anything better, we fall back on a military display, and we do it, considering all things, very well indeed-no one who saw the Diamond Jubilee function could doubt it. And yet, might we not utilise our inheritance of these historic ages of the past a little more, with all due regard to dignity and impressiveness. We have, for instance, still a College of Heralds, and nothing, as is becoming gradually recognised in other branches of art, is so decorative as heraldry, but not a solitary armorial achievement (except those on carriage panels) graced the memorable show of the 22nd of June, while surely an easily added element of picturesqueness was lost by the exclusion of the Officers-of-Arms in their tabards, which would have made that happy link with the past which would have given completeness to the display. Not only so, but a number of heraldic tabards, clustered say on the steps of St. Paul's, would have given a colour effect which, it is safe to say, could not have been produced in any other capital in Europe. And if a detachment of the Queen's Bodyguard for Scotland, the Royal Company of Archers, had been included in the procession, armed with their bows and arrows, it would have given that touch of the mediæval, and that variety of contrast, which was all that was wanted to emphasize the historic continuity between the weapons of ancient warfare and the modern magazine-rifle and Gatling-gun. But perhaps it is hardly fair to expect the modern military mind to be very tolerant of such relics of the past as heralds and archers!

J. BALFOUR PAUL.

ART. II.—SHERIFFS AND CORONERS.

THE early arrangements in any nation for the settlement of disputes between man and man, and the punishment and prevention of crime, are always of interest. In Scotland the ancient judicial arrangements, largely founded as they were on territorial possessions, and supplemented by royal charters, were tolerably complete. Not a hamlet growing up and extending beneath the protecting shelter of some ancient castle but found, in its captain or coustable, one who was alike protector of its liberties, guardian of its rights, and settler of its disputes. Beyond the limits to which the jurisdiction of the constable reached—more or less extended as these were, according to the prowess of the lord of the castle-there were other jurisdictions, justiciaries (minor), sheriffdoms, stewardries, royalties, regalities, and baillieries of different kinds, while within royal burghs a jurisdiction—sometimes, but unsuccessfully, claimed to be privative-was exercised by the provost and magistrates. Scotland proper, dating from the time of William the Lion, the king's justiciars, at first two in number, one besouth the two firths, called the Justiciar of the Lothians; the other benorth the firths, perambulated the country at first two times, 'ance in graisse and ance in corn,' and afterwards four times a year. To these there was afterwards added a justiciar for Galloway, while that part of the kingdom commonly called the Highlands of Scotland, 'Being of so unsettled a character that offenders were not from thence easily amenable to justice, nor could process of law have free course through it,' was early confided to MacCallum More, the head of the powerful family of Argyll, as Justiciar of the Highlands and Islands, except Orkney, Zetland, and Arran. All of these officers had the power of deputation, and they were provided with officers, sergeants, and mairs of fee, who, like the crownares or coroners who attended to the courts of the King's Justiciars, were often hereditary in their tenure of office.

It was unavoidable in the disturbed and uncivilized character of the country that these high jurisdictions should, as matter of policy, be at first lodged in powerful families who might be able to enforce the decisions at which they arrived, and execute the laws against offenders. It illustrates the perilous and uncertain character of the times that the Lord-President of the Session, Lord Balmerinnoch, who sat, on 31st May, 1608, as Assessor to the Justice-General, was, within a year, in the same court, condemned to death for high treason; and that Argyll himself was, in 1661, 'as an hereditary and archtraitor,' sentenced, because of many and unparalleled treacheries, to forfeit all his high offices, a sentence confirmed by Parliament in 1685, but reversed under William and Mary in 1689. From a very early period of Scottish history we find grants of jurisdictions more or less extended in use to be made. These grants were sometimes absolute to a man and his heirs, generally those lawfully procreated, but not seldom to natural sons named in succession, and their children, whom all failing, to return to the king. Many of the grants were of a more limited character-for life, or for a certain number of years, 19 or 13 as the case might be. Generally the grant included certain lands and baronies, which were the rewards for the exercise of the office, the grantee rendering compt to Exchequer for the fines and escheats inbrought. In many instances, however, the fines and escheats-or, at all events, a certain proportion of them-or a specified sum of money out of these escheats, were granted with the office. Grants of regality were frequently made to Churchmen. From these there were generally excepted the pleas of the Crown, though sometimes, as in the grants to Paisley (1451) and St. Andrews (1480), these were expressly included.

Sometimes the grantee was a lady, but in that case the power of appointing competent parties to discharge the duties of the office was expressed-as, for instance, in the charter granted in 1451 by James II. to his queen, Mary, in security of her dower, conveying to her various earldoms, lordships, baronies, customs, power was given to appoint the Sheriffs of the Burghs of Stirling and Linlithgow and the County of Fife,

these offices being included in the grant.

The Barons' Courts and Courts of Regality were often held in curious places—wherever, indeed, open spaces, as in churchyards, were found for the congregation of the vassals. In an old charter dated in 1380, David Earl Palatine of Stratherne and Caithness conveyed to John Rollo the lands of Fyndon with this reservation- Salvis nobis et heredibus nostris Cathedra Comitis et loco domus Capitalis dicte terre de Fyndon;' the Chair of Justice, wherein the Earl sat in deciding causes, and the mansion-house to westward of which it was placed, being thus reserved. Similarly, in 1371, Robert Maxwell, Lord of Mearns, reserved to himself and his heirs the mount nearest to the village of Dryppyes, Barony of Kilbrideshire and County of Renfrew, and the great stone erected on the top for the purpose of holding courts so often as necessary to prosecute the inhabitants for injuries committed against himself and his heirs only. But grim and stern was the justice meted out in many an old castle to the enemies of the lord brought before him when seated on his moot hill within his castle walls, especially when his grant was with pit and gallows. At the head of Loch Tay stand the ruins of the strong fortalice of Finlarig, the seat of the Glenorchy Campbells, and now the property of the Marquess of Breadalbane. Surmounting the moot hill within its walls is a venerable holly of great size, green and flourishing to this day. To the right is the pit, in depth the height of a man, with a receptacle for the head, a rude and permanent 'block,' and a little distance off stood, till recently, the oak tree, one branch of which, deeply grooved with the friction of the rope, formed a ready gallows. Here, as tradition says, sat the chief, having power of life and death, and, according to his rank, gentle or simple, when he was found guilty, was sent to be 'justified' in

pit or on the tree. A strong tradition illustrative of the superstition of the time attaches to another tree in the ancient Castle of Dunoon on the Clyde. In the trial of the Marquess of Argyll in 1661 for the murder of 36 persons by hanging them on this tree, it was one of the articles of dittay that the Lord from heaven struck the said tree, so that it remained without leaf for the space of two years, and that being cut down there sprang out of the very heart of its root a spring like unto blood popling up, running into several streams all over the root, and that this continued for several years.

When these heritable offices came, in 1747, to be abolished, it was found after careful sifting that there were subsisting and entitling the holders to compensation one great justiciarythat of Argyll, two minor justiciaries, 28 sheriffships, 2 depute sheriffships, 4 constabularies, 79 lordships and baillieries of regalities, and 9 clerkships to regalities. Parliament in its wisdom provided the sum of £152,037 12s, 2d, to meet this claim of compensation which had been specially reserved to Scotland in the Treaty of Union, and it was remitted to the judges to ascertain who were entitled to claim and in what proportions. It was a busy time in the Court of Session. The claimants comprised almost all the nobility and a goodly number of gentry. The law officers of the Crown were called in as objectors. Ordinary business was at a standstill. The Court was empowered to sit continuously through the vacation month of March if the winter session did not see the business completed, and by the 18th of that month the claims were all adjusted. No one can now tell how many claimants appeared in this huge Multiple Poinding-the rejected claims lie an undigested mass in the Register House. To facilitate business the judges allowed every claimant whose rights stood on similar grounds or against whom the Lord-Advocate made a similar objection to be heard before any point was decided. What the data were on which the judges proceeded in fixing special sums cannot now be known. The claimants had most extravagant ideas of the values of their jurisdictions. Lord Blantyre claimed £3000 for the Regality of Kilpatrick and was allowed £200. Lord Bute claimed £9000 for the Sheriffdom

of Bute and Constabulary of the Castle of Rothesay, and was allowed £2000. The Earl of Moray claimed £8000 for the Sheriffdom of Moray and was allowed £3000. That the claim was in this last case not extravagantly stated appears from the fact that Charles Earl of Moray had in 1724 purchased from Ludovick Dunbar of Westfield the hereditary sheriffship for £25,000. The Countess of Errol, in claiming for the Regality of Slaines, with a woman's tact, contented herself with pointing out the incontestable fact that so just and regular had been the exercise of this jurisdiction that no complaint of any sentence or decision had ever been made. She based her claim on the loss of the happiness and satisfaction she had enjoyed in the opportunity of doing justice to her vassals and tenants in her own court free of charge, and commenting on the worry and distress to her tenants in having to resort to the new jurisdictions which would react unfavourably on the landlord, left the matter to the court. The judges awarded her £1,200.

The final award illustrates how largely these hereditary offices were lodged with the great families. Of the £152,037 12s. 2d. voted by Parliament £15,000 was awarded to the Duke of Argyll as Justiciar of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, except Orkney, Zetland, and Arran. £77,611 13s. 3d. divided among four dukes, one marquess, eleven earls, one countess, and nine commoners, was awarded for sheriffships. £54,005 18s. 11d. divided among nine dukes, one duchess, two marquesses, sixteen earls, one countess, six barons, and sixteen commoners, was awarded for abolished baillieries and lordships of regality. Four of the nobility received £3,500 for abolished constabularies, and the nine clerks whose occupation, like Othello's, was gone, received the balance, £1,920.

These figures attest the importance and value of the office of Sheriff, more than one half of the whole sum allocated being required to meet the claims on account of sheriffships. The judges in the report further stated that but for special agreements as to the terms on which the Sheriffships of Sutherland and Roxburgh were to be surrendered these sheriffships would have been entered at £2000 and £4,602 2s. 8d., more than was

allowed to the Earl of Sutherland and Mr. Douglas of Dean Brae, thus bringing up the rateable value of the 30 abolished sheriffships to £84,213 15s. 11d., or nearly twice what was

allowed for regalities.

Both in England and Scotland sheriffs and coroners have existed from a very early period, going back in England as early as the times of Alfred, in Scotland to David I. It is to this monarch that the division of Scotland into shires has been ascribed. Although not, according to the best authorities, indigenous to Scotland, the Celts having, as Chalmers says, always hated sheriffs, but coming to us from Anglo-Saxon England the office and duties of sheriffs in Scotland do not correspond with those of sheriffs in England. From the nature and importance of these duties they would rather seem to correspond to the officers of similar title in Persia and the East. In England the shire is co-extensive with the county; in Scotland, while in popular language the two names are often used synonymously, there might at first be several shires in one county-counties being properly the districts of country, including many lordships and baronies united under one comes or earl-shires being those parts of counties to which sheriffs were by royal charter appointed. Curiously enough, under the statutory arrangements which now obtain, while the old time-honoured divisions of counties remain largely unaltered, sheriffdoms are in many instances composed of two or more counties. In England, as in Canada, the United States, and some Continental countries, the sheriff is entirely an executive officer, whether as high sheriff of the county, annually appointed he attends upon Her Majesty's judges, gives them fit and honourable reception, summonses juries and prisoners to their courts, and arranges for the carrying into execution of their sentences; or in more humble capacity he carries through by distraining and poinding the decrees pronounced in civil causes, or at best holds a court to assess damages when parties confess judgment. In Scotland, on the contrary, high and important judicial duties have from the earliest times been in addition to those honorary and executorial duties attached to the office of sheriff.

Like the coroner in England, dating from very early times, the crownare in Scotland had as an officer sub-corona important duties connected with the inbringing of the Crown revenues. Hence, according to some authorities, their name. Others, as Lord Bacon and Sir George Mackenzie, refer the name to the inquisition made by them in corona populi into cases of sudden death. As representing the Crown they made inquisition as to treasure trove, a duty still discharged by coroners in England. They had also duties as to the arrest and warding of criminals to be tried before the king's judges. Their duties in England are now regulated by the statute of 1887. In Scotland, though at one time appointed one or more for every shire, and for a long time hereditary in families, they have long since ceased to exist. 'The office,' says that learned antiquarian and accurate historian, Professor Innes, 'went early out of use in Scotland.'

The grants of coronerships appearing in the Register of the Great Seal are such as these:—"1472, to Master John Lyon and his heirs male, the office of coroner within the bounds of the Counties of Forfar and Kincardine. 1498, to Archibald Erle of Argyle and his heirs certain lands with the office of coroner within the limits of Cowell from the water of Altneskyany to the point of Towart, and from said point to the point of Ardlawmont, and thence to the water of Lindesaig, and from that water to the well called Tibirore. 1472, to James Stewart of Auchingown and his heirs certain lands with the coronership of the lordship of Arran and its island. 1482, to William Murray of Tullibardine, soldier, the offices of stewart, coroner, and forester within the earldom of Stratherne and lordship of Bouquidder with fees and dues for life."

It is understood that there was an heritable Coroner for Scotland—the Laird of Ednam: but the Charter Chest of the Duntreath family (now representing the Lairds of Ednam) furnishes little information as to this. Sir John Edmonstone did indeed in 1352 obtain from David II. a grant of the coronership of Lothian or Edinburgh to him, his heirs and assignees: but ten years later this was limited to a life-rent, and none of his descendants seem to have succeeded to the

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office. The Earls of Sutherland were hereditary sheriffs and coroners of Sutherland. In Sir Robert Gordon's book on that Earldom mention is made in that land of clans of the Clan James Gun, the founder of the clan, came from Caithness, where his father and all his family and principal kinsmen had been treacherously slain. His father was Cruner of Catteynes, chief of the Clan Gun, and a 'great Commander in his time, there being then no Erle of Catteynes.' Feud having broken out between the Clan Gun and the Keiths of Akregell, a meeting for reconcilement (?) was fixed at the Chapel of St. Tayr in Catternes, not far from Girnigo, with 12 horse asyde. Thither the Cruner repaired with his sons and principal kinsmen to the number of 12. But as they were within the chappell at prayer, the Laird of Inverrugie and Akregell arrived with 12 horse indeed, but with two men on every horse. So these 24 men rushed in at the chappell door invading at unawares the Cruner and his men, who gave them stout resistance. In the end the Clan Gun were slain, and the most of the Keiths as well, their blood remaining long to be seen on the chapel walls. James Gun, who was fortunately not with his father, withdrew with his family from Caithness to Sutherland and founded the Clan Cruner.

Under the Leges Malcolmi, the coroner was charged with the duty of making instant inquiry into all murders, and arresting the murderer-' The Crownare or Scherif, or in burgh the Provost, being required to make inspection of his body, that is slaine, and their clerk to make an abridgement of the same, and see the body buried. In the Quoniam Attachiamenta there is a curious brieve for arresting persons denying their nativity, illustrating the existence in early Scottish history of serfs attached to the soil, and passing with the lands from one proprietor to another- Gyf the natives bondmen deny to their lord their nativity or bondage, they sal be attached be the Kingis officiaris, or be the Crownare, bi sikar pledges to answer to their Lord before the Justice at ane lawful day.' An early statute of Alexander provides- Gyf ony schip or fercost or other veschell arrives, and in hir is found ane quick leevand man, dog, or cat, and comes quick furth of hir, that

veschell sal not be judged or decerned schip wrack, but sal be keiped with all hir gudes at the sight of the Schiref, Crownar. or Kingis Bailie for the benefit of the owner, who may claime within veire and day.' But the chief duties under these early statutes of the 'crownare,' in association with the 'sherif,' were connected with the Courts of the Justitiar. When either the Kingis Justitiar in ordinary course made progress through the country, or when, as often happened, special Justitiars were appointed to try particular criminals, they handed to the coroner the portuous roll with the names of the accused. His duty then was to arrest these parties, and see that they were put under ward with the sheriff, or under caution to appear at the Justice Aire. If, however, they were too powerful for him to deal with at his own hands, he applied to the Lord of the Barony or the Sheriff of the County either to give surety for the parties appearing at the Justice Aire, or to provide him with sufficient escort to arrest the accused. In making his arrests, the coroner could proceed at any time of the year, and either before or after the 'crying' (proclamation) of the Justice Aire. If the accused could not be found, the Coroner remained at his dwelling-house for a night and day, being entitled to sustentation for himself and two servants, also two others as witnesses; and, failing to secure the accused, he was to arrest all his goods under sure pledges to answer at the Justice Aire. Wyntoun alludes to these duties in the couplet-

'To Elandonan the Crownar past,
For til areist misdoaris there.'

Sheriffs and coroners both required to give attendance at the Justice Aire to prove the arrests, produce the prisoner, and guard the bar. The old justiciary records contain entries showing how sharply coroners were called to account, e.g., 'Jedburgh, 1502. Dominus de Cranston Coronator principalis sæpe vocatus ad probandam arrestacionem supra David Turnbull de Wauchop, psont recepit eum in portuferio, et in defectu probationis arreste in amerciamento est.' There are notices, also, of arrestments by the coroner of goods: 'Oxin, ky, hors, schiepe, ryks of corne, nolte, and the lyk.' On the last day of

the Aire, both these officers had to thole 'An assize anent the using and execution of their office to quhom justise sal be administrat as they sal be found innocent or culpable.' Coroners were often fined under such an assize. Though now largely a formality, the sheriffs of the district are still called on the last day of a Circuit Court, and opportunity is

given for complaint being made against them.

Fees were, under early statutes, provided to coroners—'For ilk man that was unlawed or that componed ane colpindach (ane quaich or yung kow) or threttie pennies; for ane man that was clenged (acquitted), nathing.' The option of the 'threttie pennies' was only given south of the Scottish Sea (Firth of Forth). When sentence of death was pronounced. the coroner was entitled to a share of the goods-'All the dantoned and tame horse not shod, al the schiepe within 20, al the goats and swine within 10, al the grains and corns lyand in byngs or broken mawes, al the utensils or domicil of the house within the inward part-that is, within the cruke hingand on the fire.' Abuses, however, crept in, and a statute (1487, c. 102) was passed requiring the sheriff to go with the 'Crownar and see the whole goods of the convict, and give the Crownar only what was justly his due.' There are traces, also, in old charters of certain casualties being paid to heritable coroners. When Sir James Stewart pursued his action of reduction of the Crownerie of Bute against John Stewart of Ascog, one of the conclusions was to free his lands of the custom or casualty of so many bolls of oats payable to the The statute (1633, c. 54) confirming the bargain between the King and the Erle of Sutherland as to the Sheriffship and Crownarie of Stirling contains a ratification of the 'Wadsett and impignoration to the Erle for £1000 of the said heritable office with all and sundrie fies, privileges, jurisdictions, immunities, casualties, and dewties belonging thereto.'

All these fees and duties had come to an end when Sir George Mackenzie wrote at the end of the 17th century, though it was only under protest that some of the heritable coroners gave place to the officers and macers who had come to discharge their duties. The Justiciary Court, with its own

proper officers, was established on its present footing in 1672, and though there are traces of heritable coroners down to a later period, coroners were not included in the list of heritable offices abolished in 1747. Some claims for compensation were indeed then made on that head, but none were allowed. The whole duties discharged by coroners are now absorbed in the office of sheriff; discharged either personally by sheriffs, or by

the officers whom they appoint in their counties.

Sheriffs, like earls and barons, the oldest titles of nobility in Scotland, go back to the times of David I., if not to those of Malcolm Canmore. It has, indeed, been authoritatively stated that there are no Scottish patents of nobility extant earlier than James VI., and that it was only by the erection of lands into a barony or earldom that such titles were conferred. Certainty on this point cannot, however, be predicated, when it is considered that, in 1661, when the Scottish registers, which had been carried to England in the time of Cromwell's usurpation, were being brought back by sea, 85 hogsheads of them were shifted in a storm from the frigate, the Eagle, into another vessel, which afterwards sank with these records at sea, and that in many grants of Novodomus it is recorded that though the lands and others had beyond the memory of man been possessed by the grantee's authors, yet his titles had been lost in the recent disturbances or rebellion. Earls and barons bearing these titles did exist in the time of David, or even earlier, the usual preamble to the Acts of Parliament of that sovereign being 'with the advise of his earls, barons, and with the consent of the clergy and people.' The earl was the comes, the sheriff was vice-comes in the vicecomitatus or county. He sat first of all as assessor with the earl, and later on when the earl was often absent he gradually became the recognised head of the court. In the grants of sheriffships the power of deputation which was always implied was often The holding in these old charters was usually blench-a rose, red or white, a pair of white gloves, a pair of gilt spurs or some such symbol of the purity and celerity with which justice was to be administered. In the great grant, however, in 1511, to Adam Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell, of 246

various lands and baronies, church patronages, etc., in ten different counties, and which included the offices of Principal Sheriff of Edinburgh, and of Sheriff of Edinburgh within the constabulary of Haddington, also Sheriff of Berwick, a distinction was made between the lands and the offices-the reddendo for the former being 4 silver pennies, and for the latter 'to render due administration of justice, and render to exchequer an account of the fees.' A remarkable reddendo occurs in the charter (16th November, 1482), to the burgesses and community of Edinburgh appointing the provost of the burgh duly elected to be sheriff within burgh, and the bailies his deputies for ever-for which offices the provost bailies. burgesses, and community should be held bound to cause celebrate on 4th August in every year in the church of the blessed Egidius (St. Giles), 'missam de Requie cum Placebo et Dirige-pro animâ Jacobi II. regis.' An interesting enumeration of the duties of sheriffs occurs in the Deputation by John Lord Halyburtoune, Sheriff of Berwick, to Sir Alexander Hume of that ilk-confirmed by Royal Charter, 22nd June, 1449. It gave and granted to the said Sir Alexander 'my full and plaine power, shyref courtis within the said shyrefdome to set, proclaime, and halde; al maner of brevis and borowes to execute; trespassours to punys, eschetis, and amerciantis to rase and inbring, and for thame to streinzie if need be, al men and thair gudis, inhabitantis the said schyrefdome, before quhatsumever juge or jugis thai be attachit to borrow and bring again to the freedome of the said schvrefdome of Berwick, and al uthir and sindry thingis to do, and til use that to thyre office of schyreff-depute be law, use, or custum is knawen to pertein, and that I mycht do myself in propre persoun.' The power of repledging alluded to in this commission was one often inserted in grants of offices, and in its exercise troublesome questions as to jurisdiction often arose which required to be settled by the superior courts.

It is interesting to note in some of these early charters that care for the comfort of the sheriff which under modern legislation has resulted in provision for the palatial structures in which the justice of the sheriff courts is now administered. As

early as 1452 the sheriffship of Berwick was combined with a grant of the lands of Little Lambertoune, commonly called Sherefbyggane. In 1498 the Sheriff of Elgin and Forres was in his charter provided with a house. But the most detailed of all provisions occurs in the grant in 1508 to the Earl of Huntly of the office of Sheriff of Invernys, with power at his own expense to build on the castle hill of Invernys his courthouse on vaults of stone and lime 100 ft. long by 30 broad, and a like height of wall covered with slates.

In the Scotland of to-day there is a great variety of sheriffs, from the lord lieutenant or sheriff principal of a county, through the sheriffs proper, whether sheriff-depute or sheriff-substitute of sheriffdoms, downward to 'our sheriffs in that part specially constitute,' who are properly the sheriff's officers appointed by him to see his decrees and judgments enforced, by the painful processes of arrestment, poinding, and sale.

In most of the counties of Scotland the lord lieutenant is sheriff principal-so gazetted. Originally he was expected to discharge all the duties of sheriff, but was entitled to depute these, so far as the judicial office was concerned, to men versed and able in the law. He is now by statute prohibited from exercising any judicial function. It was at one time part of his duties to 'Raise the county in pursuit of Wolves, to see that Fute Ball and Golf were utterly cried down and abused (disused), and in their place to set up Bow Marks near the Kirks and see that Archery was practised.' He is Her Majesty's representative in the county, head of the lieutenancy and Militia, and though he has not now the duty, at one time laid upon him, of attending on the judges when they make their circuits, he resembles in many respects in Scotland the High Sheriffs in England. His appointment is, however, not annual In legal language he is not included in the but for life. expression which occurs in many statutes, 'Sheriff of the County;' indeed, where several counties are united in one sheriffdom, he is only one of the Lord-Lieutenants or Sheriff-Principals of the counties embraced within the sheriffdom.

Then we have the sheriffs proper, who are of two kinds, both holding Her Majesty's commission—the Sheriff-Deputes.

who, except in Glasgow and Edinburgh, are non-resident, and who, under statute of George IV., c. 29, are entitled to be addressed by the title of Sheriff, and the Sheriff-Substitutes, of whom there are usually several in every sheriffdom—all resident in their respective districts. Both are included in the term Sheriffs of the County; the commissions of both extend over the whole sheriffdom, but in the case of the latter they are recommended to confine themselves to a particular district, although entitled, if need be, to act in the other districts of the sheriffdom. In large towns, such as Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Aberdeen, where the judicial work is considerable, there are several co-ordinate Sheriff-Substitutes, whose work is not specially separated, but allocated by themselves in consultation with the sheriff.

The Sheriff-Depute, although entitled, if present, to discharge all the duties of the sheriffdom, is, with the above exceptions, non-resident, giving attendance on the Supreme Courts in Edinburgh, and entitled to practice as an advocate. His principal duties are those of an Appeal Judge, but he exercises a controlling influence in all the affairs of the sheriffdom, and has a privative duty in certain administrative functions falling to the office of sheriff, such as the appointment of sheriff-officers, delineation of populous places and burghs, and the holding of Registration Courts for the election of members of Parliament. He is the Returning-Officer in Parliamentary elections, both for the counties and the burghs within his sheriffdom. Some of the Sheriffs of Scotland are salaried members of the Local Government Board, and others are Commissioners of Northern Lights, and, as such, annually inspect the lighthouses of Scotland.

The Sheriff-Substitute is resident in his district, and may be regarded as the local representative of law and order. His appointment, like that of the sheriff, is from the Crown, and ad vitam aut culpam. With the exception of these private duties above mentioned, he is expected to discharge every duty laid at common law or custom, or by innumerable statutes upon sheriffs. Scotland has taken kindly to the office; there is perhaps no country where a more complete local provision

for justice has been made. The sheriff is not merely the Juge de la première instance of France. He represents in Scotland a variety of public officers in England, being as he is in his district County Court Judge, Chief Commissioner in Bankruptcies, Chief Resident Magistrate, Coroner, and head of the department of crimes. The public records for deeds of various kinds are managed, under his control, by the Sheriff-Clerk and his staff of assistants, who also have the care of the court books, and voluminous papers constituting the records in the civil causes coming before the sheriff. It is in name of the sheriff and under his supervision that the investigation of crimes occurring in the district is carried on by the Procurator-Fiscal and his staff of assistants. He has a certain control over the police, and has, in addition to his civil jurisdiction, a large criminal jurisdiction both in summary cases and with the assistance of a jury in those more serious. The preliminary examination of prisoners and the preparation for trial in the more serious cases of the pleas of the Crown and others coming before Her Majesty's judges, are conducted before the sheriff.

In the Small Debt Court, for causes under £12, which are held once or twice a week, or oftener in large centres, and from which there is practically no appeal, justice is brought down at simple cost to the very humblest of the people. In the Certain Debts Recovery Court questions in causes under £50 with a limited right of appeal to the Sheriff-Depute are determined, and in the ordinary Sheriff Court questions of unlimited amount, and sometimes occupying several days in their expiscation, are tried subject to appeal to the Supreme Civil Courts of the country. It is before the Sheriff-Substitute that complaints and proceedings under innumerable statutes are brought. To state the whole of these would be endless:bankruptcy, public health, poor laws, game laws, registration of births, deaths, and marriages, factory complaints, and every conceivable matter in regard to which the legislature can devise a crime or invent a penalty. Runaway soldiers, recalcitrant debtors, rogues, vagabonds, and Egyptians equally with mad dogs and dangerous animals share his attention. Any sudden encroachment on property may call for his interference with an interdict; and at any moment he may be called to some part of his district to take a dying declaration.

Public attention has been recently called to his duties as coroner. He does not as in England call in the assistance of a jury whenever an old pot of coins is found in a kailyard, but he sees that it is claimed for the Crown. In all cases of sudden death investigation at his instance is made, and it is he who determines whether the case calls for post-mortem examination. This is done privately and without a jury. Where the deceased has been under confinement in prison or in a public institution the inquiry is made publicly, but without a jury. Under a recent statute a jury is called in to hear the evidence where a workman has met with his death in the course of his employment. The office of the jury is strictly limited to ascertaining when and where the man died, when and where he met with the accident causing his death, and what was the cause of death. Jurymen have frequently expressed a wish to go beyond this, and record their opinion as to whether any are or who was to blame. They have been held in all cases strictly to the statutory duty. It would be manifestly improper that they should be allowed to express such opinion at that stage, and without full evidence as to the whole circumstances. Inquiry is in all cases made by the Crown, and should there be occasion for it criminal prosecution follows. It may be questioned whether as limited by statute there is any necessity for a jury being called in at all-in some parts of the country complaints are made of this additional burden of service. The whole purpose of public inquiry would be equally well served by the inquiry before the sheriff being conducted in public. Again, in railway accidents, unless it happens that a railway employee is killed, there is no public inquiry. Inquiries are in such cases privately made both by the Procurator-Fiscal and by the officers of the Board of Trade. It would, I think, be very advantageous for the information of the public if the Fiscal inquiry before the sheriff were conducted in public. So far as I know, there has been only one instance of a public inquiry before a sheriff in such a case. I allude to the Lochwinnoch disaster about two years ago. It was conducted with the sanction of the Lord Advocate, in the presence of a court crowded with the villagers, and though no jury was called in to assist, the mere fact of the inquiry being in public gave great satisfaction to the relatives and the public generally. It may be mentioned that, whether in the ordinary court, under the service of Heirs Act, or in the Commissary Court, as regards movables, all questions as to the transference of property to the heirs and representatives of one deceased, and the collection and inbringing of the death-duties, are disposed of before the sheriff.

No one, it may well be believed, enjoys a holiday more than a resident sheriff. It is no part of his duty now to cry down football and golf, and though few sheriffs engage personally in the former, not a few find a pleasant holiday pastime in the great legal and national game.

HUGH COWAN.

ART. III.-PAOLO SARPI.

THERE is a Scotch proverb which says, 'It's ill work chapping at a dead man's yett.' Whatever may have been the intention of the man who framed the aphorism, its truth will come home to all who, out of the fragmentary records bequeathed by contemporaries, and the voiceless pages of epistolary correspondence, have endeavoured first to recover and then to display the living portrait of a man long dead and gone. The proverb is particularly true in the case of Fra Paolo Sarpi, for not only is he dead and buried nigh upon three hundred years, but during his very lifetime he suffered a species of burial. He entered a monastery at the age of thirteen, and made open profession of his vows before he was twenty. Under the rigid rule of monastic life one day resembles another, and we are deprived of all those little touches of humour, of temper, of sentiment, which in the early

lives of distinguished persons so clearly indicate the manner of men they will come to be,

Nevertheless, with the help of his own writings, his official opinions presented to the Government in his capacity of Counsellor to the State, his informal letters to friends, in which, as he himself declares, 'I write as I would speak'; in the current opinions about him expressed by contemporaries; above all, thanks to that labour of loving hands, Fra Fulgenzio's life of his friend and master, we may construct for ourselves some likeness of the great Servite friar.

Sarpi was born on the 14th of August, 1552. His father was Francesco Sarpi, of San Vito, in Friuli, who had migrated to Venice; his mother, Elizabeth Morelli, a lady of good, though not of noble, Venetian family. Sarpi took after his mother-was a delicate child, thoughtful, silent, studious. His father died when he was young, and his mother entrusted the boy's education to her brother, Don Ambrogio, a priest, who kept a school. Here the boy was worked too hard for his slender constitution, and suffered in consequence. grew shy, retiring, melancholy. His companions called him 'La Sposa,' and paid him the compliment of avoiding loose conversation when he appeared, but he was not popular. At the age of twelve Don Ambrogio could teach him no more, and he was passed on to Gian Maria Capella, a Servite friar, master in theology, mathematics, and philosophy. Gian Maria's teaching, young Sarpi discovered the real bent of his intellect towards mathematics and the exact sciences. and doubtless acquired that liking for the Servite order which led him, in spite of his mother and his uncle, to take the habit in November, 1566.

A period of close application to his studies was followed by a journey to Mantua, where Sarpi won the favour of Duke William, who was never tired of putting difficult, and sometimes ridiculous, questions to the young student, though Sarpi soon wearied of the game. Under this powerful patronage, however, he became Theologian to the Duke, and the Bishop

^{*} Lettere di Fra Paolo Sarpi. Firenze, 1863. Vol I., p. 112.

of Mantua gave him the Chair of Theology, with a readership in Casuistry and Canon Law; and here, in the process of teaching, Sarpi learned the use of those weapons with which he subsequently made such sprightly play.

His studies continued at a high pressure—eight hours a day of Greek, Hebrew, Chaldee, mathematics, medicine, anatomy, botany. The pile of his note-books grew in height. He never allowed a difficulty to escape him; he would follow it up till he was able to say, 'I've beaten it; now I'll think no more on it.' *

Sarpi was soon in high favour with the Cardinal Archbishop, but that did not shield him from the first of the many attacks which he was destined to experience in the course of his life. He was accused of heresy because he confessed that he could not find the complete Trinity in the first verse of Genesis. His defence is characteristic and noteworthy, showing a legal rather than theological turn of mind. He alleged that there was connivance between his accuser—a jealous friar—and his judge, the Inquisitor of Milan. He asserted and proved that the judge was incompetent, through his ignorance of Hebrew. On these grounds he refused to answer in Milan, and appealed to Rome, where the cause was quashed.

In the following year Sarpi received a call to teach philosophy in the Servite Monastery in Venice. He set out; it was summer. On the way between Vicenza and Padua, along those hot and dusty roads, he was seized with heat-apoplexy. He sent for a barber to bleed him; the man refused without the presence of a doctor. Sarpi said, 'Go and fetch one; but just let me see if your lancet is sharp.' When the man returned, the operation was over.

For the next four years Sarpi continued to lecture and study in his Monastery at Santa Fosca, where he steadily won for himself a foremost place in the ranks of his order. In 1579 he was elected provincial and named to serve on the Committee appointed to bring the rules of the order into unison with the

^{*} Vita del Padre Paolo Sarpi. Opere. Helmstat, 1765. Vol. VI. Page 6.

Tridentine decrees. This necessitated a journey to Rome to consult with the Cardinal Protector of the Order and with the Pope. Sarpi drew up the chapter on Judgments. The work was considered a masterpiece and one dictum in it has attracted the attention and admiration of jurists. Sarpi declares, and perhaps for the first time, that the prison ought to be reformative not merely punitive.

The new constitutions were approved and Sarpi returned to his duties as Provincial of his Order. His rule was severe, incorruptible, sound. No judgment of his was ever reversed on appeal, and the Cardinal Protector, Santa Severina, declared to an appellant that 'the findings of your Provincial admit of no reply.'

During these Roman visits Fra Paolo made the acquaintance of many distinguished persons, of Farnese, of Santa Severina,—head of the Inquisition, of Castagna,—afterwards Pope Urban VII., of Dr. Navarro—who had known Loyola, above all, of Cardinal Bellarmine, with whom he was subsequently brought into violent controversial relations. But the two men personally liked each other, and Bellarmine did not fail in the offices of friendship when, much later on, he warned the Venetian Ambassador that plots were being laid against Fra Paolo's life. It is a pleasure, moreover, to record that on the appearance of a scurrilous biography of Sarpi, Bellarmine expressed to the Pope, the following opinion. 'Holy Father, this book is a tissue of lies. I know Fra Paolo; I know him for a man of irreproachable habits. If such calumnies are published by us, all the dishonour will be ours.'*

Indeed Sarpi made for himself a very strong position in Rome. It was even thought that he might reach the purple. Bellarmine, at all events believed that his services might have been retained for the Curia, by the gift of un fiore secco, a dried flower, as he called it, by which he meant a see without emoluments. But Sarpi was not ambitious; he took little pains to conciliate; and the jealousy of more persistent aspirants easily blocked his path. He was in Rome for the last

^{*} Bianchi Giovini; Biografia, etc., II., 174.

time in 1597. From this, his fifth journey, he returned to Venice, which he seldom quitted again till his death.

And now that we have our Frate safely in his cell, now that he is on the very threshold of the larger field of European ecclesiastical politics, let us see how much of his daily life, his habit of mind and body, we can recover from the testimony of his contemporaries. He was a man of medium height, with a large forehead, arched eyebrows, a long nose, a broad nasal bone,-remarked by Lavater-a strong, large hand and thickset body. Eyes very black and piercing. He was excessively thin, and his health was seldom good. He had his own peculiar way of doctoring himself,-he believed in violent changes of food, of hours, of habits. When out of sorts he would turn day into night, night into day. His medicines were cassia, manna, tamarind—the same that the Venetian popolo still consumes. His ailments, which he called his 'notices to quit,' he treated lightly, and fought them chiefly by the vigour of his spirits. His high courage was his best medicine. Courage and coolness he possessed in a singular degree, and he had abundant need of both. He was a fidgetty patient, asking his physicians many questions, and frequently declaring that he knew more about his illness than his doctors did-which I daresay was true. The frailness of his body. and the austerity of his habits, preserved to his senses an extraordinary delicacy of perception. He always declared that his enemies would never succeed in poisoning him through his food; and he refused the government's proposal to appoint an official taster. His memory had been well trained in his youth, and was prodigiously retentive. It seems to have been largely what is called a visual memory—he recalled the look of a page-then what was on the page. To Sarpi it seemed a mechanical quality, and he always spoke of it as that 'excellent weakness.'

He suffered much from cold and tried to combat it by holding warm iron in his hands; but I suspect that chilblains had the better of him. His friend, Sir Henry Wotton, the English Ambassador, describes him as sitting in his cell 'fenced with a castle of paper about his chair and over his head when he 256

was either reading or writing alone, for he was of our Lord of St. Albans' opinion that all air is predatory, and especially hurtful when the spirits are most employed.' This cell was extremely bare—a table, a box for his books, a bench, a crucifix above a human skull, a picture of Christ in the garden, a little bed, to which he preferred a shakedown on his bookbox-that was all. His diet was spare as his lodging, vegetables, hardly any meat, a little white wine, toast-his fine palate appreciating the great varieties of flavour obtained by that excellent method of cooking. His old friend, Frate Giulio, attended to him-saw that he was washed, dressed, brushed, etc. From the convent registers we learn that two pairs of sheets lasted him twenty years, thanks no doubt, to the shakedown. He was a devourer of books; and he had them bound before he read them. I suppose most of them were like modern German editions. Mathematics were his pastime, and these he kept for the afternoons. Sir Henry Wotton adds some further touches. 'He was one of the humblest things that could be seen within the bounds of humanity, the very pattern of that precept "Quanto doctior, tanto submissior," and is enough alone to demonstrate that knowledge, well digested, non inflat. Excellent in positive, excellent in scholastical and polemical divinity, a rare mathematician even in the most abstruse parts thereof, and yet withal so expert in the history of plants as if he had never perused any book but Nature. Lastly, a great canonist, which was the title of his ordinary service with the State, and certainly in the time of the Pope's interdict they had their principal light from him.' Sarpi's manner was excessively ceremonious and urbane. Times were dangerous. and politeness is an excellent weapon of defence. He talked little, but possessed the gift of making others talk. When he did join in the conversation, his tone was persuasive not dogmatic. He cared most, as Fra Fulgenitio says, to know the truth, 'una gran curiosità d'intendere come realmente le cose fossero passate,' and this gave to his attitude a certain air of aloofness, indifference, disdain, irritating to those who were defending a parti pris, and led Sarpi to say that nothing so much as the truth enraged and rendered men obstinate. It

also induced him to lay down a rule for his own guidance. 'I never,' he says, 'tell a lie, but the truth not to everybody.'* Not because it is not well to tell it always, but, as he remarks, because not everybody can bear it.

The temper of his mind was scientific—mathematics were his favourite study—and the scientific method is apparent throughout all his work. 'I never,' he writes, 'venture to deny anything on the ground of impossibility, for I am well aware of the infinite variety in the operations of God and Nature.' In respect to this scientific quality Sarpi is a very modern man. He is talking about the merits of the various writers of his day, and whom does he select for praise as the only 'original authors,' (?) Vieta and Gilbert, two men of science, ‡ just as we might say that Darwin and the scientific writers were, in a sense, the only original authors of our day.

Linked with this genuine love of discovery for discovery's sake, this curiosity as to how things really were—which is perhaps the essence of the scientific spirit—Sarpi also possessed an exquisite modesty. He never displays one iota of jealousy, and is absolutely without desire for notoriety, yet Galileo acknowledges assistance, in the construction of the telescope, from 'mio padre e maestro Sarpi.' The famous physician, Fabrizio of Aquapendente, exclaims, 'Oh! how many things has Father Paul taught me in anatomy.' The valves in the veins were discovered by Sarpi. Gilbert of Colchester ranks him above Della Porta as an authority on magnetism. In his treatise on 'L'arte di ben pensare,' ('The Method of Thinking Correctly'), he certainly anticipates the sensationalism of Locke.

Many of his curious inventions, and more of his ideas, were freely placed at the disposal of his friends, and no acknow-ledgment in public ever sought. Indeed Sarpi, in this respect, lived to the height of his own generous maxim, 'Let us imitate God and Nature; they give, they do not lend.' Twice only does he assert his priority. It is important to note the occa-

^{*} Vide Encyclopedia Britannica. 5 V., Sarpi.

I Vide Quarterly Review, No. 352, p. 379.

[†] Lettere, I., 229.

sion, for it affords some clue as to Sarpi's personal estimate of the relative value of his works. Writing to a friend in France on two different occasions, he exclaims, 'I was the first to affirm that no sovereign had ever freed the clergy from allegiance to himself.' Sarpi is right to guard his reputation here, for it is precisely on the point of ecclesiastical politics, and not in the region of science, however brilliant his accomplishments may there have been, that his real distinction rests.

Thus far I have endeavoured to represent some of the qualities which characterised the mind of Paolo Sarpi. But let us press a little deeper, and discover, if possible, his fundamental views of life, his inner religion, the faith by which he lived. He was a strict observer of outward forms and ceremonies—so strict, indeed, that his enemies were unable to fasten upon him any charge which they could sustain. The cut of his shoes was once impugned by a foolish but troublesome brother; Sarpi, however, triumphantly demonstrated their orthodoxy, and it became a proverb in the Order that even Fra Paolo's slippers were above suspicion.

But beneath the surface of these formalities, I think that Sarpi was essentially sceptical as to all human presentations of the truth ouside the exact sciences. And, as so often happens, this scepticism was accompanied by a stoical resignation to fate, and a profound belief in the divine governance of the universe. It was this scepticism which kept him inside the Church of Rome in spite of his dislike to its excessive temporal claims and worldly tendencies. He never showed the smallest inclination to change his native creed for any of the various creeds which the chaos of Reformation bestowed upon Europe. The temper of his mind, eminently scientific, prevented him from enjoying that strong externalizing faith which allowed Luther to believe that he had engaged in a personal conflict with the devil. Sarpi was Italian, not German; he was not superstitious, and an Italian who is not superstitious is very frequently sceptical. This scepticism, however, did not leave him without a religion; its corrosive power could not reach

^{*} Lettere, II., 414; I., 313.

further than the human formulas in which men endeavoured to confine the truth. Below all these lay the core of his faith. In his letters no phrases occur more frequently than those which declare his conviction that all is in the hands of God. While in constant danger of his life, he refused to adopt the precautions recommended by his friends, being convinced that he will not be killed before the appointed time. When he sees the course of events taking a turn destructive of his hopes, again he affirms his confidence that the issue will be for good. What human folly is this to desire to know the future. To what purpose? To avoid it? Is not that a patent impossibility? If you avoid it, then it was not the future.' * 'Fate guides the willing,' he said, 'but compels the reluctant' ('i fati conducono chi vuole, e chi non vuole strascinano'), † an aphorism which we may parallel with Dante's noble line, 'In la sua volontade è nostra pace,' or with that simpler and diviner formula of submission, 'Thy will be done.'

But there was a further principle in the religion of Fra Paolo, a principle which saved him from the dangers of fatalism. He was perfectly convinced that men were the agents of the Divine will, and that it was man's first duty to act, to take advantage of the fitting occasion which presented itself almost as a divine injunction to use it. This doctrine of the Kaipòs, of the fitting opportunity, is repeated again and again throughout the letters. t. 'In all human action,' he writes, 'opportunity is everything. It is well to do God's service without regard of consequences, but only if all the circumstances are propitious. Without that, such action cannot merit the name of good, and may even be a hindrance to successful action in the future, when the season is ripe.' Again: 'As for myself, being well aware that to use an unpropitious occasion is little pleasing to the Divine Majesty, I never cease to make myself more able and more ready to act when the right moment arrives; and like the artificer I gather material when not at work. If the time should never come for me, what I have gathered may be of service to another.'

^{*} Lettere, I., 270.

[†] Lettere, II., 126, 429.
‡ Lettere, I., 269.

It is a cold religion, perhaps, but a very strong one; with a deep taproot of faith and an abundant field for the play of human practical judgment, for the development of human action. And this is a proof of its goodness that in spite of all Fra Paolo suffered—in body—from ill-health and the assassin's dagger; in mind—from calumny, from apparent failure, from isolation; his religion was strong enough to sustain and strengthen his whole life, and a contemporary observer, Diodati, was forced to admit that every blow falls paralyzed and blunted on that sweetness and maturity of affections and spirit, which raise him to a height far above all human passions.*

And now, before proceeding to an account of Sarpi's lifework—to a narrative of what he found to do in the field of ecclesiastical politics, it will be as well to see what his views upon this subject were and what weapons of offence and defence were at his disposal.

We must bear in mind that throughout the controversy upon which Sarpi was about to engage, it is not the Church which he is attacking but the Roman Curia, and the new tendencies which it represented-new, that is, in so far as they gave a new form to the mediæval claims of the Papacy. Sarpi observes that the Curia would like to give to the Pope not the 'primatus' but the 'totatus' † in the world of ecclesiastical politics. He has a distinct name for the policy which was represented by Spain, the Jesuits and the Inquisition-he calls it the Diacatholicon. For the Jesuits, whom he conceived to be the life and spirit of the diacatholicon, are reserved his most pungent irony, his most crushing attacks. He hated them because he thought they were not only a serious and unwarranted danger to temporal princes, and destructive of good citizenship; but even more, because he was convinced that they were leading the Church upon a false track-confounding the things of earth with the things of heaven (mescolare il cielo colla terra 1), and introducing disorder into a divinely ordered world.

^{*} Moritz Ritter; Briefe und acten zur Geschichte des Dreissig jahrigen Krieges, II., p. 131. † Lettere, I., 275. ‡ Lettere, II., 6.

The political situation stood thus: The Curia could always rely on the dread of Spain to enforce its supremacy upon an unwilling Italy; France was the only counterpoise to Spain: England and the Protestant princes of Germany were too far off, and as Sarpi said, they were quite unknown in Venice, and this combination of Spain and the Curia was developed by the Jesuits for the furtherance of their special ends. Sarpi was convinced, as he says, that 'if the Jesuits were defeated, religion would be reformed of itself.'* And what his aspirations were in the direction of reform can be gathered from his letters; from such explicit passages as this: 'I imagine,' he writes, 'that the State and the Church are two separate Empires-composed, however, each of them, by the same human beings. The one is entirely celestial, the other terrestrial; each has its proper limits of jurisdiction, its proper arms, its proper bulwarks. No region is common to both. How then can those who walk by different roads clash together? Christ has said that He and His disciples were not of this World, and Saint Paul has declared that our citizenship is in Heaven.' † Again Sarpi argues that the Church being a divine institution cannot ever be really injured by the State, which is a human institution. ! He wishes to mark the two as entirely distinct from one another, moving on different planes. If asked; what then is the field of action left to the Church, if she is to interfere in no matters secular and temporal, Sarpi replies that to the Church he leaves the wide field of influence, through precept, through example, through conviction. Religion is the medicine of the mind. As the doctor to the body, so the cleric to the soul.§ Let the Church make men good, voluntarily, freely, of their own accord, through conviction, and they will not govern wrongly, nor will they ever run counter to their nursing mother. The phrases are such as we might expect in the mouth of a reformer, and yet I think it certain that Sarpi was no Protestant in spirit, or in form. Diodati, the translator of the Bible, who had come to Venice with

high hopes of winning Fra Paolo and his followers to an open secession from Rome, reluctantly admits that 'Sarpi is rooted in that most dangerous maxim that God cares nothing for externals, provided the mind and the heart are in pure and direct relation with Himself. And so fortified is he in this opinion by reason and examples ancient and modern, that it is in vain to combat with him.' * That is the true word about Sarpi. The outward forms were so indifferent to him that he would never have abandoned those into which he was born. But that did not prevent him from lending his aid to the party who wished to establish a Reformed Church in Rome. It is impossible to deny that he did so after reading Dohna's most explicit reports. † Sarpi would gladly have seen perfect freedom for all forms of worship provided that the worshippers remained good citizens. No wonder that, with these principles at heart, he dreaded every success of the Jesuits; no wonder that the Jesuits hated and pursued him alive and dead. Whether Sarpi can be considered a good Churchman or not, depends upon the view we take of what the Church is, who is its head, what its functions. Certainly he was no Churchman at all in the sense intended by the Curia and the Jesuits, certainly not one of those 'qui filii sunt legitimi.' And yet Bossuet's assertion that under the frock of a friar he hid the heart of a Calvinist is quite untenable. And the opinion here expressed is confirmed by a letter to Cardinal Borghese from the Nuncio, Bentivoglio, no friend to Fra Paolo, in which he says that 'though Sarpi displays a great alienation from the Court of Rome and holds views diametrically opposed to the authority of the Holy See, yet he shows no inclination to embrace the new heresy.' And there we must leave it; he had his own ideal of a Church and expressed it in the passages just quoted. I think that if he had given himself any name at all he would have called himself an old Catholic.

As to the weapon at Sarpi's disposal, his inimitable and individual style, something must be said before we come to

I Balan. Fra Paolo Sarpi, p. 39.

^{*} Ritter, ut sup., p. 131. † Ritter, ut sup., pp. 75-89.

the actual struggle with the Curia. We have seen that the bent of Sarpi's mind was pre-eminently scientific, and scientific is the chief quality of his style. His manner was precise, parsimonious, hard, positive, pungent. Never was there a more complete lack of adornment, a more thorough contempt for rhetoric, in a writer of so powerful a pen. And yet the whole is vivified by a living logic, and the reader is caught and held delighted by the compulsion of a method which is never explained but always felt. That is why Sarpi may be called the historian's historian, that is why Gibbon, Macaulay, Hallam, Johnson, agree in placing him in the foremost rank. Sarpi is chiefly concerned in saying his say so directly and simply that the comments, the deductions, the lessons, become obvious, are implicit in the very narration. Let me take an example. Fra Manfredi-one of his colleagues in the struggle with the Curia-was enticed to Rome upon a safe conduct, which guaranteed the inviolability of his person and his honour. This notwithstanding, he was tried, forced to an ignominious public recantation, hung, and burned. How does Sarpi narrate this event. 'I know not what judgment to make,' he writes; 'the beginning and the end are clear, a safe conduct and a pyre.' * This is what Sarpi meant by l'arte del colpire, the art of striking. The effect is obtained by the simplest juxtaposition of the facts, and no rhetoric could have more eloquently expressed the writer's intention.

It is a masculine, athletic style—a style of bronze, polished Only one decorative variation breaks the rigid and spare. outline of its simplicity; Sarpi possessed a dry, ironical humour, with which he made great play. Referring to James I.'s commentary on the Book of Revelations, and laughing at his pretensions as a theological controversialist, Sarpi says: 'I never claimed to understand the Apocalypse, but then I'm not a king.' t When asking for information as to the views of a man he was about to meet, he says: 'I should like to know whether one God in heaven is enough for him, or must be have another on earth,' like those 'good gentlemen, the Jesuits.' ‡

^{*} Lettere, II., p. 102. + Lettere, II., 29.
‡ Lettere, I., 210.

Again, 'Our adversaries are of such a kidney that they claim to be believed without proof, while they deny to us what is as clear as the sun in heaven, and we have to light a candle at mid-day to let them see it.' Yet again: 'There is a Scotchman here who says he understands the Jesuits; he must be a very clever fellow.' And indeed this incessant slashing at the Order becomes a little wearisome, and seems exaggerated, perhaps, to us who know the course events have taken, though Sarpi had it firmly in his mind that his great duty to Church and State was to thwart the Order, and defeat its policy.

Such was the man who was called upon to defend what may be considered a test case in the interests of temporal sovereigns against the persistent claims of the papacy. The question at issue has never really been absent from the field of European ecclesiastical politics. It is a vital question to this

day.

Doubtless Fra Paolo Sarpi is best known to general fame as an author, as the historian of the Council of Trent; not, I imagine, because that work is often read, but because its writer has received such high commendation from competent judges—Gibbon, Johnson, Hallam—that his name has become a name which people ought to know. But it certainly is not his fame as an historian which won for the obscure Servite friar the devotion of his contemporaries, of Wotton, of Bedell, of Sanderson, among Englishmen; of Philip du Plessis-Mornay, Leschassier, Casaubon, Galileo, in France and Italy, and has made his name a living watchword to the present day.

Sarpi has suffered, I think, from being considered as an isolated phenomenon, as a figure which appears upon the stage of history, acts vigorously, even picturesquely, and disappears again, without any obvious connections in the past, with no very definite effect upon the future. His biographers tells us who he was and what he did, but they say little to explain his attitude, they make no effort to place him in his true historical perspective. The consequence is that his figure loses some of its significance for us; we are at a loss to understand the weight of his name, the importance of his career.

As a matter of fact, Sarpi represents one very definite line

in ecclesiastico-political history in that struggle for national independence out of which modern Europe has been evolved. An analysis of his political descent will help us to realise his place in the procession of thought, and the course of this enquiry will explain the devotion of some contemporaries, the animosity of others, the reverence and the hatred with which posterity has surrounded his name.

To understand Sarpi's politico-ecclesiastical position, we must go back for a moment to the origin and development of the temporal power in the Church. During the early centuries of the Christian era, the idea of imperial Rome as the unit of society had been growing weaker, while silently, and almost unknown to the temporal rulers of the world, the idea of Christian brotherhood was gaining in strength. The removal of the capital from Rome to Constantinople; the failure of the Emperors and the success of the Popes, in withstanding the barbarian attacks; the separation of the Church from the Empire, brought about by the iconoclasm of Leo the Isaurian -all these events contributed to establish in men's minds the idea of the Church as an earthly power at least concurrent with the Empire. Then came the union of the Pope and the Franks; the coronation of Pepin as King; the protection he afforded to Pope Stephen; the donation of lands won from the Lombards; the crowning of Charles the Great as Emperor in Rome—and there we have mediæval Europe established with its twofold basis of society, the Pope and the Emperor, a scheme which satisfied the aspirations of mankind by preserving, in an outward and visible form, the ancient grandeur of the Roman name, while including the new factor of Christian brotherhood.

But this beautiful and orderly disposition of the world—a Catholic Church to guide the soul, a Universal Empire to protect the body—was an idea only, an unrealisable dream, praccally ineffectual.

In the intellectual sphere this double headship of society brought confusion to the mind, and introduced a double allegiance. In actual politics the existence of two co-equal sovereigns—both human—at once raised questions as to the exact boundaries of their power, their jurisdictions inevitably overlapped. In a rude society, and with widely scattered territories, the appointment of Bishops was an important consideration for the Emperor no less than for the Pope. The Bishops were political factors in the Government of mankind, as well as spiritual shepherds of human souls—who was to exercise the right of appointment, the Emperor or the Pope?

But the clash of Pope and Emperor over such a point as this, laid bare the inherent defects in the mediæval conception of society. The Emperor was absent, he did not reign in Rome, the Pope possessed no temporal weapons. The Emperor, at war with his spiritual brother, the Pope, ordered his vassals in Italy to attack the Ecclesiastical Head of society; and the Pope, at war with his material protector, the Emperor, was forced to provide material protection for himself by the creation of a personal territory, the States of the Church. The beautiful and orderly ideal is shattered, the material chief has attacked the spiritual, the spiritual chief has made himself a material Prince. He is no longer Pope only, he is something more, he is an Italian sovereign besides.

Two great Popes, Hildebrand, Gregory VII., and Lothario Conti, Innocent III., achieved and carried to its utmost conclusion this change in the idea of the Papacy. Gregory stated his object and formulated his claims in no uncertain tones. The Church, he said, ought to be absolutely independent of the temporal power; that it might be so in fact it claimed supremacy over the State. The Pope was infallible; he had authority to depose Emperors; Princes must do him homage; he was competent to release from their allegiance the subjects of a rebellious sovereign. As we hear the words we seem to hear the voices of Bellarmine, Baronius, Mariana or Suarez, and to catch an echo of the Bull 'In coena Domini.'

Innocent carried on the Hildebrandine tradition and realized it in fact. He changed the title 'Vicar of Peter' for 'Vicar of Christ,' and paved the way for that more ambitious style of 'Vice Deo' which was applied to Pope Paul V. He created the States of the Church; and dreamed of a Spiritual Empire over Europe, a temporal sovereignty over Italy.

But the consequences of this Papal expansion did not correspond to the hopes of these great Prelates. The abasement of the Empire led, not to the transference of European temporal allegiance from the Empire to the Papacy, but to the discovery of strong national tendencies among the various races of the Continent. And further, inside the Church itself, from this time forward two distinct lines of thought are visible, two opposite tendencies in the spiritual and political region. The one line, continuing the tradition of Hildebrand and Innocent through Thomas Aquinas and the brilliant series of Anticonciliar and secularizing Pontiffs; through Bellarmine, the Jesuits, the Inquisition and the Council of Trent. The other, voiceless as yet, but soon to be proclaimed by a phalanx of illustrious writers, Dante, John of Paris, William of Ockam, Marsilio, Barclay, Sarpi. And this double opposition to the Hildebrandine theories—the national opposition outside the Church, the intellectual opposition inside the Church, frequently joined hands and worked together towards the development of modern Europe as a congeries of independent States.

Here, then, I think, we find Sarpi's intellectual pedigree. Thomas Aquinas asserted the supremacy of the Church over the State, and his spiritual offspring are living to this day, in all who hold ultramontane views.

Dante maintained the rights of the Empire as against the Papacy, but his client was moribund, and his De Monarchia died sine prole.

Egidio Colonna and John of Paris enunciated the doctrine that the Church and the State are absolutely distinct one from another, both divinely constituted, both with independent spheres of action; and from these men by a direct descent through Ockam and Marsilio of Padua comes Paolo Sarpi.

Let us look for a moment at Marsilio of Padua—the greatest Italian political thinker of the fourteenth century; perhaps of any century.

Dante had declared that qua men, Pope and Emperor were equal, but qua Emperor and Pope they were incompatible, irreducible to a common denominator in the world of politics.

Of course he is seeking, as the schoolmen always sought, the universal which includes the particulars. He argues accordingly that the resolution of these incompatible factors of the body politic must be sought outside the world, in God. Marsilio of Padua says: Yes, Dante is right. Only I must not introduce into the world of politics a factor which is not there. I must seek the resolution of these incompatibles inside the political sphere. He then announces his doctrine, surprisingly bold, astonishingly modern when we remember that the year is 1324. For him the resolution of the Pope and Emperor, the universal which contains the particular in the world of politics, is the People. The People is the true divine on earth because it is the highest universal, because God made the first revelation of himself not to the rulers but to the People; because out of the People come the various appellations of the body politic-citizens, faithful, lay, cleric. For Marsilio the People presents a double aspect; it is the universitas civium, but it is also the universitas credentium. From the People in one or other of these aspects, emerge all the phenomena of the politico-ecclesiastical world.

Marsilio called his book *Defensor Pacis*, Defender of the Peace, but he might with greater truth, as regards its results, have named it Gladius furens, The Flaming Brand; for the ecclesiastical party which represented the Hildebrandine tradition, never for a moment subscribed to his bold speculations, and such theories must have sounded but little less distasteful to the ears of the Imperialists. And yet Marsilio's doctrines, sowed seeds which have lived—are indeed more living now than ever before—and I have dwelt upon them because I think that, in some ways Sarpi was nearer in politico-ecclesiastical thought to Marsilio than to any other of his predecessors.

When I say that Sarpi was intellectually descended from Marsilio of Padua, I do not mean that their views were identical. There was a wide difference between them, the result partly of their age, partly of their temperament—Marsilio, eminently scholastic, constructive, boldly speculative; Sarpi, on the other hand, coldly scientific, not discursive, occupied in

answering definite problems as they are presented to him, not dealing with Utopias. But in spite of all differences, both Marsilio and Sarpi belong to the same order of political thought, to that party which was called into existence by the excessive expansion of Papal claims; the party whose task it was to defend the just liberties of the individual and the State.

In order to appreciate the services which Sarpi rendered to his cause, we must first obtain some view of the position which Papal pretensions had assumed at the date of his birth.

The temporal claims of the mediæval Papacy, conceived by Hildebrand and carried to their extreme conclusion under Innocent III., induced the Hohenstaufen Emperors to an attack, in which their greatest representative, Frederick II., was worsted, it is true, but the papacy itself suffered in the conflict, both in moral prestige and temporal power. To support itself against the later Hohenstaufens, it called the Angevine princes to its aid. A crippled papacy was no match for the growing national tendencies championed by France. The struggle between Boniface VIII. and Philip IV. ended in the capture and maltreatment of the Pope. The victorious Philip was able to place a creature of his own upon the Papal throne, and to remove that throne and its occupant for safety to Avignon.

But if the mediæval conception of the papacy had proved a failure, the same fate had likewise befallen the mediæval empire. They had destroyed each other in the struggle for supremacy. The capture of Boniface at Anagni, and the tragic end of Manfred, are parallel events, each of them closing an epoch in the history of the Church and of the empire.

There was no comparison possible, however, between the vitality of the empire and the vitality of the papacy. The waning power of the empire allowed the growing national instincts to make their way in the formation of modern Europe. The waning temporal prestige of the Pope left no one to take his place. However weak he might temporally be, he was still the spiritual head of Christendom. It is true that a national Church, like the Gallican Church, gained in authority by the abasement of the papacy, but no one had

been audacious enough to carry the idea of a national Church to its logical conclusion by declaring the head of the State to be head of the Church. The spiritual headship of the papacy remained, however impaired its temporalities might be; and those temporal claims, though abased for the present, lay dormant only until the Papacy was strong enough to assert them once more, not against the emperor, it is true, but against the growing nationalities which took the emperor's place in the field of European politics.

The Papacy had struggled with the empire and strangled its opponent. Its next conflict was with the nation, as represented by the Conciliar Principle—the principle that the universal Church, the universitas credentium, when represented

by a General Council, is superior to the Popes.

The results of the struggle are notorious. The apparent triumph of the Conciliar principle at Constance by the election of Martin V.; its real failure owing to Martin's unexpected independence of action the moment he became Pope. The patent incapacity of the Council of Basel to command Eugenius IV., and its fiasco with its own nominee, Felix V. As far as the power of the Papacy was concerned, it seemed that the Conciliar movement had achieved nothing except to make the Popes strong again by sending them back to Rome. The Papacy rejoiced in the return to its native seat.

Three strong Popes—Eugenius, Nicholas, and Pius II.—successfully defied the Couciliar movement, and gave a new and purely Italian character to the Holy See. The crown was set upon this revival by the famous Bull which, beginning with the word 'Execrabilis,' declared all those damned who should venture to appeal from a Pope to a future Council. And the Popes had achieved their new position by the help of the national instinct—that very instinct which had called up the Conciliar movement against them. It was the support of Italy which enabled Eugenius to defy Basel. It was the patronage of Italian art and learning, and the restoration of Italian towns, which made Nicholas popular. Aeneas Sylvius, a humanist Pope, sat in the chair of St. Peter.

The restored Papacy thus established once more in Rome,

its independence asserted by Eugenius, its splendour by Nicholas, its superiority to Councils based upon 'Execrabilis,' began to assume that aspect under which Paolo Sarpi came to know it. Three powerful temporalising Popes confirmed the worldly tendencies of the Petrine See as an Italian sovereignty. The system of family aggrandisement, begun under Sixtus IV. and continued through Alexander VI. and Julius II., laid those pontiffs open to the charge of cynicism. Men were shocked to see spiritual weapons employed for the secular ends of a papal family. And by the beginning of the 16th century we find a revival of that line of opposition to the Curia Romana which made itself first heard as the result of the Hildebrandine theories. The spirit is the same, the tone is different; no longer scholastic, speculative, theoretical, but rather spiritual, religious, with something in it of the coming reformation. 'Whoever,' writes Francesco Vettori from Florence in 1527; 'whoever carefully considers the law of the Gospel will perceive that the pontiffs, although they bear the name of Christ's Vicar, yet have brought in a new religion which has nothing Christian in it but the name; for whereas Christ enjoins poverty they desire riches, where He commands humility they flaunt their pride, where He requires obedience they seek universal domination,' This is language very similar to that which is often found in the mouth of Sarpi-a little more rhetorical, less coldly impersonal than Sarpi's style -but in that essential phrase, una nuova religione, a new religion, containing the whole of what the opposition felt, the break in divine order, the confounding of earth and heaven. Their protest and their spirit are preserved to this day in the term 'Old Catholics.'

The course of events in Europe, no less than in Italy, tended to accentuate the quality of the new papacy. The rise and spread of the reformation beyond the Alps led the Roman Curia to furbish its spiritual weapons of excommunication and of interdict. However lightly we may think of such things now, there was a time when Papal thunders were no mere brutum fulmen. The Venetians had learned that lesson to their cost when, in 1309, the Republic was placed under inter-

dict and excommunication, with the result that her merchants in England, in Italy, in Asia Minor, were threatened in their lives, despoiled of their goods, and Venetian commerce was ruined for a time. She had felt the effect later on when the attack by the league of Cambray opened with an interdict and excommunication from Rome. It is, thanks to the action of Venice and to the guidance of Fra Paolo Sarpi, that these weapons lost their point, that they have ceased to be used, that Europe can contemplate them now with no greater alarm than we should feel at the threat of a Star Chamber prosecution.

But, further, the revolt against authority which was taking place beyond the Alps, served only to emphasize the Papal claims in Rome. A noble and genuine effort at reconciliation was made by the yielding Bucer, the gentle Melancthon, and the winning Cardinal Contarini, in the Conference of Ratisbon. But behind these dreamers of peace was Luther, on the one hand, declaring that whatever formulas might be agreed upon at Ratisbon, nothing would induce him to believe that the Catholics could be sound upon justification; and Paul III., vowing that he would accept no concordat whose terms should leave the Papal authority open to a moment's doubt.

The Conference of Ratisbon was a failure, and merely resulted in more positive assertions of the Papal position, and more active, and even violent measures for the maintenance thereof. And two instruments were ready to hand. The bull, Licet ab initio, which founded the new Inquisition, 'on heretical depravity,' was published in 1542. The Society of Jesus was definitely established in 1543, nine years before the birth of Paolo Sarpi. Nor was it long ere the world perceived that the Inquisition and the Society of Jesus were bent on attacking freedom of thought, liberty of action, national independence, in the interests of Papal supremacy. And the Papacy, or at least the Curia Romana, came to be identified in many minds—among them, Sarpi's—with the action of the Inquisition and the teaching of the Jesuits.

In the face of this aggressive attitude of the Papacy, temporal princes began to look to the defence of their rights.

Cardinal Baronius challenged the validity of the Spanish claim to Sicily, and even such a Catholic sovereign as Philip III. caused the book to be publicly burned. His father declined to accept the Roman Index, and declared that he was competent to make his own. The Catholic rulers of Europe were hostile to the Papal claims. But it was reserved for Venice and Sarpi to champion the just rights of secular princes, to defend, single-handed, a cause which was common to all sovereigns. This constitutes Sarpi's claim to recognition by posterity. His action in this great cause, his coolness, his courage, give us the reason why he has had to wait 270 years for the erection of the monument decreed to him by the Republic, why his name is venerated by all lovers of national liberty, executed by those whose policy he helped to crush.

And now let us return to Paolo Sarpi himself, to the man who was called upon to face and largely modify the politico-ecclesiastical conditions of the civilized world. We must remember that it would hardly have been possible for Sarpi to embark on a struggle with the Roman Curia in any State save Venice. In any other Catholic country he would have been surrendered to the Inquisition; had he retired to a Protestant country his arguments would have lost much of their weight, his books would have been prohibited, he himself would have been represented as the servant of a Protestant prince. It is precisely because the defence of secular princes came from a Catholic, living in a Catholic State, that it made so deep an impression upon Europe.

Sarpi and the Republic were singularly at one in their external attitude towards Rome. The Republic had, from the earliest times, maintained a more independent position than was generally assumed by the other princes of Italy, yet Venice always remained Catholic. When the Pope alluded to reforming tendencies in the Republic, the Doge Douato, Sarpi's personal friend, broke out: 'Who talks of Calvinists; we are as good Christians as the Pope, and Christians we will die in despite of those who wish it otherwise.' It was this attitude of Venice—a defence of temporal freedom while

admitting a spiritual allegiance—which Sarpi was to proclaim and to defend.

The events which immediately led to the rupture between Venice and Rome had been ripening for many years before the protagonists, Sarpi and Pope Paul, appeared upon the scene; and relations were strained at the moment when Camillo Borghese was raised to the Papal throne in 1605 as Paul V. Borghese, member of a Sienese family, born at Rome, had been auditor of the Apostolic Chamber, was a strong Churchman, and believed himself a great jurist. He was so amazed at his own elevation to the Papacy, that he considered it to be the special work of heaven, and determined to act accordingly. The Pope 'was scarce warm in his chair' before he plunged into controversies right and left. Genoa yielded, Lucca yielded, Spain was pliant; but when the Venetian ambassadors, sent to congratulate His Holiness, were admitted to audience, they referred in no doubtful terms to the attitude of the Republic on the questions pending between Venice and the Holy See. The Pope answered by complaining of two laws, lately renewed by the Republic, both of them affecting Church property. In the course of a pacific reply to the Pope, the Senate enunciated its fundamental principle: 'We cannot understand how it is possible to pretend that an independent principality like the Republic should not be free to take such steps as she may consider necessary for the preservation of the State, when those measures do not interfere with or prejudice other princes.' It seems a reasonable reply, but the difficulty lay in this that neither party would condescend upon a definition of what was or what was not to the prejudice of another prince. That depended upon what the other prince claimed, and the Pope was a prince. The need for such a definition led Sarpi to formulate precisely what he considered the boundary line between temporal and spiritual rights. 'The dominion of the Church,' he says, 'marches along celestial paths; it cannot, therefore, clash with the dominion of princes which marches on paths terrestrial.' Could he have obtained subscription to a dichotomy of this nature, the quarrel would have been at an

end, but the Roman Curia never dreamed of making such a renunciation of its substantial authority.

While the question was still pending, two criminous clerics were arrested in Venetian territory and imprisoned. Pope considered this act a violation of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. He sent two briefs to the Nuncio at Venice, one demanding the repeal of the obnoxious laws, the other the persons of the two prisoners, and threatening excommunication in case of disobedience. The briefs reached Venice, but before the Nuncio presented them the Doge died. Nuncio declared that no election to the dukedom was valid, as the State was under excommunication till it had satisfied the Papal demands. This, of course, did not stay the Venetians, who proceeded to elect Leonardo Donato, Sarpi's friend, to the vacant chair. The election was no sooner over than the Senate desired the counsels of a Doctor in Canon Law, and Sarpi was invited to express an opinion on the case. He gave it verbally. The Cabinet asked for it in writing. Sarpi declined. The Senate saw the reasonableness of this refusal, and issued an order by which they took Sarpi into the service of the State and under its protection. In answer to the question: 'What are the proper remedies against the lightning of Rome?' the newly appointed theologian replied, 'Forbid the publication of the censures, and appeal to a Council.' This position was supported in a document of fifteen pages, in which the whole question of appeal to a future Council is argued with profound learning and perfect limpidity of thought. The brevity, strength, and clearness of this written opinion gave the highest satisfaction, and the reply to the Pope was dictated by Sarpi. It was still pacific in tone; the Senate declares that 'Princes by divine law have authority to legislate on matters temporal within their own jurisdiction. There was no occasion for the admonitions administered by His Holiness, for the matters in dispute were not spiritual but temporal.' The Pope was furious. He declared to the Venetian Cardinals that 'This discourse of yours stinks of heresy.' 'puzza d'eresia,' and dictated a monitorium, in which he allowed the Republic twenty-four days to revoke the objectionable laws and to consign the ecclesiastics to the Nuncio; if obedience were refused, Venice would be placed under an interdict.

The Monitorium was published in May 1606. The Senate replied by two manifestoes, one appealing to the cities of the Veneto for support, the other commanding the clergy to ignore the monitory, to continue divine service, and to affix this protest in a public place. There was a disposition on the part of the clergy to disobey; but an example or two were sufficient to secure compliance. A vicar refused to say mass; the government raised a gibbet before his door and he was given his choice. At Padua the Capitular Vicar, when ordered to surrender despatches received from Rome, replied that he would act in accordance with the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, to which the Governor replied that the Ten had already received that inspiration to hang all who disobeyed. The rupture with Venice was complete. The Nuncio and the Ambassador were recalled from their respective posts.

The question now was whether the Republic would yield as she had done before, as other more powerful States had often been compelled to do. Pope Paul never doubted the issue. But, at Venice, inspired and guided by Paolo Sarpi, there was an unwonted spirit of resistance to the Papal claims, which found expression in the Doge's farewell to the Nuncio. 'Monsignore,' said Donato, 'you must know that we are, every one of us, resolute to the last degree, not merely the Government but the nobility and the population of our State. excommunication we hold for naught. Now just consider what this resolution would lead to if our examples were followed by others,' a warning which the Pope declined to take. Yet this spirit of resistance in defence of temporal rights was accompanied by a remarkable attention to ecclesiastical ceremonies. The churches stood open day and night, and were much frequented. The procession of the Corpus Domini was conducted on a scale of extraordinary magnificence. Republic desired to make her attitude clear; it was the claims of the Curia, and not the Church which she was opposing.

Meantime the controversy assumed a literary form; Venice

was attacked in books, in pamphlets, in the confessional, from the pulpit. The attention of Europe was soon attracted to the surprising spectacle of a temporal sovereign successfully defending his temporal rights against the Pope, while still endeavouring to remain inside the pale of the Church. France was friendly, England promised support; Spain alone was openly hostile.

The mass of controversial literature grew rapidly, especially in Venice, where all adverse criticism was studied, not burned as at Rome. The government appointed a committee to deal with this side of the contest, and Sarpi was its ruling spirit. An attack by Bellarmine drew Sarpi openly into the controversial arena, and instantly he became the mark for the arrows of the Curia. His works were prohibited and burned; he was cited before the Inquisition, and refused to obey on the double ground that he had already been judged illegally, because unheard in the defence; and that Bellarmine, one of his adversaries, would also be upon the judicial bench. His phrase was 'I defend a just cause.' The Pope prepared for war; and Venice too armed herself. But the Pontiff found that even his ally Spain was not willing to support him in a cause which was so hostile to the temporal interests of Princes, and likely to be opposed by all the powers in Europe.

The interdict had now lain upon Venice many months without effect, the ceremonies of the Church were performed as usual, the people were not deprived of the Sacraments, they could be baptized, married, buried as though no interdict had ever been launched. That terrible weapon of the ecclesiastical armoury hung fire. Each day discredited it still further. Venice was demonstrating the truth of Macchiavelli's observation that these instruments were powerless unless backed by force, like bank-notes with no metal reserve; current as long as the credit of the institution lasted, as long as people took them on faith.

At Rome it was becoming evident that the Pope would be compelled to retire. The only question was how to yield with as little loss as possible. Both Spain and France were ready to mediate. France proposed terms of an agreement. But the Venetian Government, after taking Sarpi's opinion, modified these terms beyond all recognition. The Pope might be entreated, but not in the name of Venice; the prisoners would be given to the King, not to the Pope; nothing would be said about withdrawing the protest, and as for the controversial writings in favour of Venice, the Republic would do with them whatever the Pope did with those in favour of the Curia.

The position of Venice was that she had done no wrong; her cause was just. From this firm attitude the Government would not move. The Pope raised objections, hoped for help from Spain, implored the intervention of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, changed his mind a hundred times. But the scandal of the powerless interdict grew daily more serious; the Cardinals protested against the injury to the prestige of Rome; and the Pope was forced to yield.

France undertook to mediate, and for that purpose the Cardinal de Joyeuse came to Venice. The various steps in the ceremony of reconciliation were carried out with the utmost punctiliousness on the part of the Republic. The terms of the proclamation withdrawing the protest were framed so as to allow no word to escape which might imply that Venice acknowledged an error.

The surrender of the prisoners was made to the Ambassador of France as a gratification to his Most Christian Majesty, and without abrogating the right to try ecclesiastics. The Ambassador handed over the prisoners to the Cardinal as a present from the King. The Cardinal then proceeded to the Cabinet, which was sitting, and announced in the Pope's name, that 'All the censures were removed.' Whereupon the Doge presented him the proclamation which recalled the Protest. And so the celebrated episode of the Interdict came to an end.

The victory remained with Venice, and Sarpi was the hero of it. It was a great achievement to have resisted the temporal assertions of the Curia without breaking from the Church. And Sarpi himself makes it quite clear that he was aware of the effect of his handiwork. He writes: 'The Republic has given a shake to Papal claims. For whoever heard till now of a Papal interdict, published with all solemnity, ending in

smoke? And whereas the Pope once raised a wasps' nest about our ears for wishing to try two criminous clerics, from that day to this a good hundred have been brought to justice. Our differences with the Curia continue just as before, but they have never ventured to use an interdict again; its power is exhausted.' An appreciation confirmed by so cautious an historian as Hallam, who says: 'Nothing was more worthy of remark, especially in literary history, than the appearance of one great man, Fra Paolo Sarpi, the first who in modern times and in a Catholic country shook the fabric of Papal despotism.'

It was not likely that the Roman Curia would ever forgive such a blow. Sarpi was quite right in saying that it left the Republic alone for the future, but it pursued the men who had been the Republic's advisers. It was the object of the Curia to induce Sarpi and his colleagues to come to Rome; it could then have represented them as erring children returning to the bosom of the Church, wrung recantations from them, and undone most of the benefits secured by their courage. Sarpi refused to leave Venice, and pleaded an order from his sovereign which forbade him to go. Others, less cautious, yielded to the promises of protection and of honours, and failed to detect what Sarpi called 'the poison in the honey.' Their fate was pitiable. Sarpi alone his enemies could not get, though he wrote to a friend: 'They are determined to have us all, and me by the dagger.' And he was right. He had received several warnings that his life was in danger. Gaspar Schoppe, on his way from Rome, told him that it was almost impossible for him to escape the vengeance of the Pope. The Government also begged him to take precautions. Sarpi refused to change any of his habits. He continued his daily attendance at the Ducal Palace, passing on foot from his monastery at Santa Fosca through the crowded Merceria to Saint Mark's, and back again when his work was done.

On October 5th, 1607, he was returning home about five o'clock in the evening. With him was an old gentleman, Alessandro Malipiero, and a lay brother, Fra Marino; the people of the Santa Fosca quarter were mostly at the theatre, and the streets were deserted. As Sarpi was descending the steps of the bridge at Santa Fosca, he was set upon by five assassins. Fra

Marino was seized and bound, while the chief assailant dealt repeated blows at Fra Paolo; only three took effect, two in the neck, of small consequence, and one in the head, which was given with such violence that the dagger, entering the right ear, pierced through to the cheek-bone and remained fixed there. Sarpi fell as though dead, and the assassins, believing their work accomplished, and being disturbed by the cries of Malipiero and some women who had witnessed the assault from a window, fired their arequebuses to terrify the people, who were running up, and made off. Sarpi was carried into his monastery, where he lay for long in danger of his life. The Republic insisted upon calling in all the celebrated doctors and surgeons of Venice and Padua, though Sarpi himself desired to be left to the care of Aloise Ragozza, a very young man in whom he had confidence. The multitude of doctors nearly killed their patient. But at length the wound healed, and Sarpi resumed his ordinary course of life. He had never any doubt as to the quarter whence the blow came; and the flight of the assassins to Papal territory, their triumphal procession to Rome, the protection they received there, all point to one conclusion.

The Republic was lavish of its attentions to its famous Councillor. Sarpi was offered a lodging for himself and two others on the Piazza, and the Senate voted him a pension of four hundred Sarpi declined the money and refused to leave his ducats. monastery. All that he would accept was the construction of a covered way and a private door, so that he might reach his gondola without passing through the streets. These precautions were by no means unnecessary, for his life was never safe. At least twice again plots were laid against him. The one which was discovered in the monastery was a real pain to him. He writes: 'I have just escaped a great conspiracy against my life; those of my own chamber had a part in it. It has not pleased God that it should succeed, but I am deeply sorry that the agents are in prison. Life is no longer grateful to me when I think of the difficulty I have to preserve it.'

That is the first note of weariness which we come across in Sarpi's letters; it is a note which is repeated and deepened during the later years of his life. Those years were passed in constant and active discharge of his duties to the State, in the preparation of opinions upon the various points about which the Government consulted him; on benefices, on Church property, on the Inquisition, on the Prohibition of Books, on tithes. The epithets applied by distinguished authorities bear witness to their value. Gibbon talks of 'golden volumes,' Grotius calls them 'great.'

The fame of the Servite grew world-wide. But at Venice his years were closing in some loneliness and depression. his eyes it seemed that his policy had not achieved all the success he desired. The murder of Henry IV. in 1610 was a cruel blow, and he saw France once more under the Jesuit sway. Venice, too, appeared to be lost in a lethargy which offered no resistance. Again and again in his correspondence he complains of Venetian supineness, and declares that the Republic is no freer after, than it was before, the fight. Moreover, his intimate friends and supporters were dying; Alessandro Malipiero in 1609, Leonardo Donato the Doge in 1612, Andrea Morosini the historian in 1618. The younger generation held different views; were disposed to leave matters alone. Sarpi felt the gradual abandonment. It is said he even thought of going to England, or again to the East. The extent of that abandonment was shown immediately after his death. The Senate decreed a monument in his honour. The Nuncio declared that the Pope could not submit to such an affront, and if it were erected, the Holy Office would be obliged to declare Sarpi an impenitent heretic. The Venetian ambassador counselled compliance, comforting himself with the reflection that he who may not live in stone will live in our annals with less risk from all-corroding time.

But the end of this active life was drawing near. Sarpi had never feared death. When his friend the Doge expired, he wrote that nothing more desirable could happen to an honest man than to say adieu to the earth after a lifetime spent in preparation for departure by integrity of thought and the discharge of duty.* That, indeed, was Sarpi's own case. He died in harness.

^{*} Lettere, II., 334.

On Easter Eve, 1622, while working in the archives, he was seized with a violent shivering fit. It was the beginning of the end, though he rallied and resisted for another year. Early in 1623 he obeyed a summons to the Palace. He was very ill at the time, and on his return he knew himself stricken for death. On the 14th of January he took to his bed. Fra Fulgenzio was summoned to the Senate to give a report. 'How is he?' they said. 'At the last,' replied Fulgenzio. 'And his intellect?' 'Quite clear.' The Government then proposed three questions on which they wanted the dying man's advice. Sarpi dictated his replies, which were read and acted upon.

He grew rapidly worse; still he was able to say with a smile, 'Praise be to God; what is His pleasure pleases me, and with His help we will through with this last act becomingly.' Then falling into a delirium they heard him murmur, 'I must go to St. Mark's. It is late. There is much to do.' About one in the morning he turned to his friend Fra Fulgenzio, embraced him, and said, 'Do not stay here to see me in this state, it is not fitting. Go you to bed, and I will return to God whence I came.' 'Esto perpetua,' May she endure, were the last words on his lips, a prayer which his audience took as on behalf of his country, for whose just rights and liberties he had fought so well.

HORATIO F. BROWN.

ART. IV.-MRS. OLIPHANT AND HER RIVALS.

A SUFFICIENT time has elapsed since the death of the writer who was perhaps the most industrious of British literary workwomen during two generations, to permit, if not of such a critical judgment upon her labours as will fix her permanent position, at least of such an appraisement as will detect the element of immortality in her almost infinite variety. Many have been the judgments passed upon Mrs. Oliphant, but it may be doubted if any has come nearer the mark than the dictum that

had circumstances permitted her to devote herself exclusively to fiction and to perform even in that department only one-tenth of the labour she actually achieved, she could have produced, if not the best novel of our time, certainly the novel that is most typical of modern British society as a whole. This may seem at first sight what is vulgarly known as 'a large order.' But when one recalls the different lines of fiction in which she excelled all but the greatest of her rivals, when one remembers that the patient delineator of clericalised English rural life in The Chronicles of Carlingford was also capable of the better than Kailyard pathos of Katie Stewart, and of the Hardyesque passion of Kirsteen, when one thinks of the energy expended—it would be unjust to say wasted—on such works outside the field of fiction as her biographies of Edward Irving, Principal Tulloch, and Montalembert, her Royal Edinburgh, and her Makers of Florence, above all, when one tries to realise what might have been had the extraordinary imaginative power displayed in Two Stories of the Seen and the Unseen been diffused over a life's work, and from being a wandering voice become a pervading presence like Mr. Marion Crawford's diablerie, or the fatalism which ennobles the peasantry of Wessex with the tragedy of the Æschylean drama, who can say that she might not have produced what would have been to British life in the second half of the nineteenth century what Middlemarch aimed at being, but somehow is not?

It may be said that the comparison involved in this suggestion, the making of which somehow seems inevitable, is unfortunate. It is quite true that Mrs. Oliphant had neither the piercing imagination, nor the almost too profound culture, of George Eliot. She could never have written that noble passage in which are embodied Dorothea Casaubon's first impressions of Rome. It is hardly possible to conceive of her representing Maggie Tulliver as relating the story of the earwig's domestic troubles to her cousin Lucy. Nor, had it come within her province to describe the appearance of Lawyer Dempster while mixing his third glass of brandy and water in the bar of the Red Lion at Melby, would it have occurred to her to have represented 'the front part of his large surface' as 'so well dredged

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with snuff that the cat, having inadvertently come near him, was seized with a severe fit of sneezing-an accident which, being cruelly misunderstood, caused her to be driven contumeliously from the bar.' Her warmest admirers will allow that her slight efforts in the direction of historical romance were failures; she could never have given us a flesh-and-blood Savonarola. The question, however, is, could Mrs. Oliphant, had circumstances allowed her as much time to produce a novel as they allowed George Eliot, the only one of her female contemporaries, with the exception of Mrs. Humphry Ward, who can be named in the same breath with her, have given the world a book more realistic in the sense of being truer to life and society than her rival's most finished and elaborate performance? This question can best be answered by comparing the works of the two writers which are similar in scope and range of character-The Scenes of Clerical Life on the one side and The Chronicles of Carlingford on the other. It is a fashion with Eliotolaters to warmly praise the book by which their divinity made her first reputation; some go so far as to place it above Adam Bede and even above Silas Marner and The Mill on the Floss. And yet the careful reader and impartial critic of The Scenes, who will probably place it as a work of art immeasurably above books of the Kailyard school, will admit that its chief strength is the same as theirs, that it is to be found in the power of moving to tears. Everybody that is superlatively good in The Scenes dies precisely as does everybody that is superlatively good in Beside the Bonnie Brier Bush-Mrs. Amos Barton, Mr. Gilfil's Tina, Mrs. Dempster's saviour, Mr. Tryon. Over the graves of the two first, at least, as many have wept as have found an abundance if not a surfeit of the luxury of woe in the return of Mr. Barrie's 'son from London' and the death of Ian Maclaren's 'Lad o' Pairts.' Sunt lachryma rerum is the 'Register, Register, Register' of the novelist who seeks a large public. It is a quite legitimate trick of art, but it is a trick all the same. Another trick of George Eliot's art is exemplified in The Scenesthat of getting into a corner or sitting down in an arm-chair, and making essentially masculine reflections on the changes effected, sometimes for the better but oftener for the worse, by

the magic of time. I say 'essentially masculine,' for while it is quite impossible to conceive of the author of Daniel Deronda smoking a churchwarden and drinking gin and water—even Mr. Gilfil's modest dilution—in the orator's chair of a village inn, or at the bar of a country-town hostelry, the 'philosophy' to give expression to which she so often steps aside from the straight road of her plot, as when she discourses on leisure in the beginning of Adam Bede, is quite that of the male laudator temporis acti who looks at life through Thackerayan spectacles. Take, for example, this passage, which forms part of the overture to the Sad Fortunes of the Rev. Amos Barton:—

'Immense improvement! says the well-regulated mind, which unintermittingly rejoices in the New Police, the Tithe Commutation Act, the Penny Post, and all guarantees of human advancement, and has no moments when Conservative-reforming intellect takes a nap, while imagination does a little Toryism by the sly, revelling in regret that dear, old, brown, crumbling picturesque inefficiency is everywhere giving way to spick-and-span new-painted new-varnished efficiency, which will yield endless diagrams, plans, elevations, and sections, but alas! no picture. Mine, I fear, is not a well-regulated mind; it has an occasional tenderness for old abuses; it hungers with a certain fondness over the days of nasal clerks and top-booted parsons, and has a sigh for the departed shades of vulgar errors. So it is not surprising that I recall with a fond sadness Shepperton Church as it was in the old days, with its outer coat of rough stucco, its red-tiled roof, its heterogeneous windows patched with desultory bits of painted glass, and its little flight of steps with their wooden rail running up the outer wall, and leading to the school-children's gallery. Then inside what dear old quaintnesses! which I began to look at with delight, even when I was so crude a member of the congregation that my nurse found it necessary to provide for the reinforcement of my devotional patience by smuggling bread-and-butter into the sacred edifice. There was the chancel, guarded by two little cherubim, looking uncomfortably squeezed between arch and wall, and adorned with the escutcheons of the Oldinport family, which showed me inexhaustible possibilities of meaning in their blood-red hands, their death's-heads and cross-bones, their leopards' paws and Maltese crosses. There were inscriptions on the panels of the swinging-gallery telling of benefactions to the poor of Shepperton, with an involuted elegance of capitals and final flourishes, which my alphabetic erudition traced with ever-new delight. No benches in those days; but huge roomy pews round which devout church-goers sat during "lessons" trying to look anywhere else than into each other's eyes. No low partitions allowing you, with a dreary absence of contrast and mystery, to see everything at all moments; but tall dark panels,

under whose shadow I sank with a sense of retirement through the Litany, only to feel with more intensity my burst into the conspicuousness of public life when I was made to stand up on the seat during the psalms or the singing.'

There is no denying the cleverness and restfulness of this sort of writing. But it is essentially masculine, or at the best suggests a highly cultured woman playing very prettily with all her head, but not quite with all her heart, the part of the male lover of the past. Let it freely be allowed that Mrs. Oliphant, though she too can indulge in reflection and even preach a very good Scotch sermon, was incapable of this style of literary reverie, as incapable as was George Eliot herself of what a competent critic has termed 'the delicate monotone of Jane Austen's novels with their smoothness of movement, their subtle delicacy of description, their avoidance of any touch of tragedy.' Nor will the warmest admirer of Mrs. Oliphant deny that she was not steeped in the life of the country as was her great contemporary, and that she could not have written the incomparable passage in which Mrs. Poyser and life at her farmhouse are introduced to us.

Plenty of life there! though this is the drowsiest time of the year, just before the hay-harvest; and it is the drowsiest time of the day too, for it is close upon three by the sun, and it is half-past three by Mrs. Poyser's handsome eight-day clock. But there's always a stronger sense of life when the sun is brilliant after rain; and now he is pouring down his beams and making sparks among the wet straw, and lighting up every patch of vivid green moss on the red tiles of the cow-shed, and turning even the muddy water that is hurrying along the channel to the drain into a mirror for the yellow-billed ducks, who are seizing the opportunity of getting a drink with as much body in it as possible. There is quite a concert of noises; the great bull-dog, chained against the stables, is thrown into furious exasperation by the unwary approach of a cock too near the mouth of his kennel, and sends forth a thundering bark which is answered by two fox-hounds shut up in the opposite cow-house; the old top-knotted hens, scratching with their chicks among the straw, set up a sympathetic croaking as the discomfited cock joins them; a sow with her brood all very muddy at the legs, and curled as to the tail, throws in some deep staccato notes; our friends the calves are bleating from the same home croft; and, under all, a fine ear discerns the continuous hum of human voices. . . Everything was looking at its brightest at this moment, for the sun shone right on the pewter dishes, and from their reflecting surfaces pleasant jets of light were thrown on mellow oak and the said find the state of the second of the second of the second of

bright brass; and on a still pleasanter object than these; for some of the rays fell on Dinah's finely moulded cheek, and lit up her pale red hair to auburn, as she bent over the heavy household linen which she was mending for her aunt. No scene could have been more peaceful; if Mrs. Poyser, who was ironing a few things that still remained from the Monday's wash, had not been making frequent clinking with her iron, and moving to and fro whenever she wanted it to cool; carrying the keen glance of her blue-gray eye from the kitchen to the dairy, where Hetty was making up the butter, and from the dairy to the back-kitchen, where Nancy was taking the pies out of the oven. Do not suppose, however, that Mrs. Poyser was elderly or shrewish in her appearance; she was a good-looking woman, not more than eight-and-thirty, of fair complexion and sandy hair, well-shapen, light-footed; the most conspicuous article in her attire was an ample, checkered linen apron, which almost covered her skirt; and nothing could be plainer or less noticeable than her cap and gown, for there was no weakness of which she was less tolerant than feminine vanity, and the preference of ornament to utility. The family likeness between her and her niece, Dinah Morris, with the contrast between her keenness and Dinah's seraphic gentleness of expression, might have served a painter as an excellent suggestion for a Martha and Mary.'

No apology is needed for quoting this passage. It is the high-water mark of George Eliot's literary work; it is perhaps the high-water mark of 'the graphic' in British prose fiction. Mrs. Oliphant could not have written such a passage, or even come near it. And yet, for the purposes of comparison, I quote the opening sentences of The Perpetual Curate:—

'Carlingford is, as is well known, essentially a quiet place. There is no trade in the town, properly so called. To be sure, there are two or three small counting-houses at the other end of George Street, in that ambitious pile called Gresham Chambers; but the owners of these places live, as a general rule, in villas either detached or semi-detached in the North-end, the new quarter, which, as everybody knows, is a region totally unrepresented in society. In Carlingford proper, there is no trade, no manufactures, not anything in particular, except very pleasant parties and a superior class of people-a very superior class of people, indeed, to anything one expects to meet with in a country town, which is not even a county town, nor the seat of any particular interest. It is the boast of the place that it has no particular interest—not even a public school. For no reason in the world but because they like it, have so many nice people collected together in those pretty houses in Grange Lane, which is of course a very much higher tribute to the town than if any special inducement had led them there. But in every community some centre of life is necessary. This point, round which everything centres, is, in Carlingford,

found in the clergy. They are the administrators of the commonwealth, the only people who have defined and compulsory duties to give a sharp outline to life. Somehow this touch of necessity and business seems needful even in the most refined society; a man who is obliged to be somewhere at a certain time, and whose public duties are not volunteer proceedings but indispensable work, has a certain position of command among a leisurely and unoccupied community, not to say that it is a public boon to have some one whom everybody knows and can talk of. The minister in Salem Chapel was everything to his little world. That respectable connection would not have hung together half so closely but for this perpetual subject of discussion, criticism, and patronage; and to compare great things with small, society in Carlingford recognised in some degree the same human want. An enterprising or non-enterprising rector made all the difference in the world in Grange Lane; and in the absence of a rector that counted for anything (and poor Mr. Proctor was of no earthly use, as everybody knows), it followed, as a natural consequence, that a great deal of the interest and influence of the position fell into the hands of the curate of St. Roque's.'

The dissimilarity between these two passages is almost painfully obvious. The one is instinct with the freedom and largeness of the country, which condemns to the simplest of lives, but permits of the richest of dreams. The other is full of the pettiness of the small town-that pettiness which crushes the soul, paralyses the imagination, and dwarfs ambition. That George Eliot realised this pettiness is clear enough from her Middlemarch, but she so shrank from it that she was incapable of doing justice to it; her characters soar above it. Mrs. Oliphant grasped the realities of Carlingford as George Eliot never grasped the realities of Middlemarch. But she was something more than a realist-or perhaps it would be more accurate to say that she was a realist in the larger and truer In the matter of fact—the boldly matter of fact passage that I have quoted, she brings these ideals on the scene at once. They are concentrated in the clergy, whose mission, of course, it is to keep the flag of simple yet eternal truth flying above—yet not too much above—the heads of their flocks. this lie the supreme charm and the true historical value of Salem Chapel, which, if not the most readable of The Chronicles—that distinction belongs to Miss Marjoribanks-is the truest to life. The vitality of this social sketch is to be found not in that delightful but not perfectly satisfactory vision, Lady Western, in the mysterious and too melodramatic Mrs. Hilyard, or in Adelaide Tufton, 'pale spectator of a life with which she had nothing to do,' but in the Tozers. They are plain to vulgarity in their lives and their ideals. The blushing Phœbe is a trifle too willing to fall into the arms of Mr. Vincent; Mrs. Tozer is a trifle too ready to throw her there. Then look at the deacon himself, as he 'sits in his little parlour on an October night looking over his greasy books, one of which lay open upon a little writing-desk, where a bundle of smaller ones, in red leather, with "Tozer, Cheesemonger," stamped upon them in gilt letters, lay waiting Phœbe's arrival to be "made up." Trollope, or even Thackeray, could not have made a more complete exposure of what Matthew Arnold has termed 'The hideousness and immense ennui of dissent,' than in this dialogue between Tozer and poor Vincent:—

""Three more pews applied for this morning—fifteen shillings in all," said Mr. Tozer, "that's what I call satisfactory, that is. We musn't let the steam go down—not on no account. You keep well at them of Sundays, Mr. Vincent, and trust to the managers, sir, to keep 'em up to their dooty. Me and Mr. Tufton was consulting the other day. He says as we oughtn't to spare you, and you oughtn't to spare yourself. There hasn't been such an opening not in our connection for fifteen years. We all look to you to go into it, Mr. Vincent. If all goes as I expect, and you keep up as you're doing, I see no reason why we shouldn't be able to put another fifty to the salary next year."

"" Oh!" said poor Vincent, with a miserable face. He had been rather pleased to hear about the "opening," but this matter-of-fact encouragement and stimulus threw him back into dismay and disgust.

""Yes," said the deacon, "though I wouldn't advise you, as a young man settin' out in life, to calculate upon it, yet we all think it more than likely; but if you was to ask my advice, I'd say to give it 'em a little more plain—meaning the church folks. It's expected of a new man. I'd touch 'em up in the State Church line, Mr. Vincent, if I was you. Give us a coorse upon the anomalies and that sort of thing—the bishops in their palaces, and the fisherman as was the start of it all; there's a deal to be done in that way. It always tells; and my opinion is as you might secure the most part of the young men and thinkers, and them as can see what's what, if you lay it on pretty strong. Not," added the deacon, remembering in time to add that necessary salve to the conscience, "not as I would have you neglect what's more important; but after all, what is more important, Mr. Vincent, than freedom of opinion and choosing your own religious teacher? You can't put Gospel truth in a man's mind till you've

freed him out of them bonds. It stands to reason, as long as he believes just what he's told, and has it all made out for him the very words he's to pray, there may be feelin', sir, but there can't be no spiritual understandin' in that man."'

And again-

I'd like to observe, sir, if you'll excuse me. I'd give 'em a coorse; there's nothing takes like a coorse in our connection. Whether it's on a chapter or a book of Scripture, or on a pertiklar doctrine, I'd make a pint of giving 'em a coorse if it was me. There was Mr. Bailey of Parson's Green, as was so popular before he married, he had a historical coorse in the evenings, and a coorse upon the eighth of Romans in the morning; and it was astonishing to see how they took."

There is no question whatever as to the relentless cleverness of all this. Had Mrs. Oliphant's object been not to draw a picture of a particular phase of life in Carlingford, but to present what would have been regarded as a clever caricature of the more ignoble features of Nonconformity, she could not have succeeded better. But she would have been untrue to life and disloyal to her art, had she not reproduced the simple goodness that shines through and redeems the vulgaritywhich is on the whole objective rather than subjective-of the Tozers. Phæbe thinks none the worse of Mr. Vincent because her charms fail to adequately impress him, and even her mother bears no malice. As for Tozer, he transcends himself in that truly masterly oration in which he not only defends Mr. Vincent against the foes of his own household who have gossipped about and watched and suspected him until he finds his position intolerable, but reveals himself as the most sarcastic critic of 'chapel' weaknesses.

'It's the way of some folks in our connection, ladies and gentlemen; a minister aint to be allowed to go on building up a chapel and making hisself useful in the world. He aint to be left alone to do his dooty as his best friends approve. He's to be took down out of his pulpit, and took to pieces behind his back, and made a talk and a scandal of to the whole connection. It's not his preaching as he's judged by, nor his dooty to the sick and dyin', nor any of them things as he was called to be pastor for; but it's if he's seen going to one house more nor another, or if he calls often enough on this one or t'other, and goes to all the tea-drinkings.'

Mrs. Oliphant here reveals herself as a realist in a true and complete sense. She does ample justice to the weaknesses of Dissent in Salem Chapel just as she does ample justice to the possibly less angular and obtrusive, but equally indubitable weaknesses of Anglicanism. But she also reproduces without unduly emphasizing the unquestionable if conventional goodness which atones for and redeems these weaknesses. The sore-tried Wentworth, the perplexed Morgan, and the embarrassed Proctor, are invariably equal to the duty, even to the duty of self-effacement, that lies nearest to them, and are as real, if not quite as enjoyable as Tozer.

Beyond all question, the best, or at all events most emphatically classical work of Mrs. Oliphant, is to be found in her Chronicles of Carlingford. They give the best pictures of English clericalised society that have ever been drawn. For although Bishop and Mrs. Prowdie in the rival Chronicles of Barset are as good photographs and in every way as real as the Tozers, a fire of genuine religious conviction is to be found in the best of Mrs. Oliphant's characters which was foreign to Trollope's 'purpose' and decidedly alien to his art. But there is also in them a fire of a totally different kind-the fire of youth, of strong will, of honest indignation, of what we rather helplessly style 'character.' Mr. Wentworth in The Perpetual Curate, and Mr. Vincent in Salem Chapel, are quite as capable of getting into a healthy temper as Mr. Tozer. Take Nettie, the pretty, piquant Australian who figures in The Doctor's Family, which is perhaps the most finished of all the Carlingford Chronicles. She is in a flame all over the stage, and it is impossible not to sympathise alike with her contempt for her weak and grumbling sister and with her anger at that sister's hopelessly indolent and self-indulgent husband. It is her spirit which makes her a better wife for Edward Rider than Lucy Wodehouse, or even the incomparable Lucilla Marjoribanks herself. I say 'incomparable' advisedly, for I am quite certain that in the whole range not only of Mrs. Oliphant's works but of the British fiction of two generations, there is not a closer approach to 'the perfect woman nobly planned' than Miss Marjoribanks. In some of her qualities, and in certain even of the

possibilities open to her, she recalls Mrs. Humphry Ward's Marcella. But how pale and unsatisfactory and in every way ineffectual is the creation of the younger artist beside that of the elder and earlier! No doubt Lucilla's most ardent male admirers must feel some disappointment that 'in the end it is to be Tom after all,' and that she who 'might have done ever so much better' should not only be in the end married to, but be in a sense dependent on her cousin. But there is at least poetic justice in the final arrangements of her life which take her from Carlingford to Marchbank:—

'It was but the natural culmination of her career that transferred her from the town to the country, and held out to her the glorious task of serving her generation in a twofold way, among the poor and among the rich. If a momentary sigh for Grange Lane, which was about to lose her, breathed from her lips, it was sweetened by a smile of satisfaction for the country which was about to gain her. The lighter preface of life was past, and Lucilla had the comfort of feeling that its course had been full of benefit to her fellow-creatures; and now a larger sphere opened before her feet, and Miss Marjoribanks felt that the arrangements of Providence were on the whole full of discrimination, and all was best, and she had not lived in vain.'

The time is not far distant, if indeed it has not already arrived, when the historian of this country who takes a genuine and not a merely superficial interest in the sociological department of his subject, will seek in novels as in newspapers-and novels and newspapers between them constitute literature in the eyes of more than a moiety of the British population-for a picture of the times of which he treats. In the eyes of such a historian books like the Chronicles of Carlingford series are of greater value than those of Thomas Hardy and George Meredith. Both the world of Thomas Hardy and the world of George Meredith are brighter and fairer than Mrs. Oliphant's; they are inhabited by diviner women and more capable, or at least (to use a now hopelessly vulgarised phrase) more Napoleonic men. She has not given us a Bathsheba Everdene or a Lucy Feverel, a Clym Yeobright or the conqueror of Diana of the Crossways. But her world is peopled with real men and women, those folk whose hearts may be in Philistia, and who may be governed not by ideas but by traditions to which time has given a certain consecration, but who perform nine-tenths of the work of the world. Regarded from the standpoint of reality and comprehensiveness, Mrs. Oliphant's works will constitute a valuable mine to the sociologist in search of genuinely 'human documents,' a mine to which nothing, not even the stories of Anthony Trollope, one of her earlier contemporaries, can be compared. Her mantle seems to have fallen on Mr. Norris, in whose best works modern seaside and holiday life is presented with a fidelity to truth that is not diminished by its association with gently Thackerayan satire. But Mr. Norris has not yet migrated from Torquay to Carlingford; he has yet produced a Tozer.

But Mrs. Oliphant was a Scotswoman, and an intensely patriotic Scotswoman of that old fashioned conservative-in regards religious and moral questions eminently Conservativetype which is generally associated less with the moist and fervid West than with the bracing and biting East, and above all with the Kingdom of Fife. Many of her best stories-too many indeed to be mentioned-deal with various phases of Scotch life. What then is her position among Scotch novelists? In this case, as in that of her position among delineators of English life, it is necessary to indicate her limitations by contrasting her with those writers who will naturally be mentioned in the same breath with her. Some of her best Scotch types are suggestive of Galt. Her Margaret Maitland, which many critics regard as the greatest of her purely Scotch stories, is admittedly an imitation of the work and method of the author of The Ayrshire Legatees and The Entail, and, as a representation of the period when 'Non-Intrusion' feeling ran high, it is admirable. But neither Mrs. Oliphant nor any other writer of Scotch fiction, not even Sir Walter himself, has immortalised certain outstanding features in our national character as Galt has done, has given us such a portrait of the worldly, but neither indolent nor ungenial Scotch minister of the old school as Mr. Balwhidder, or has reproduced municipal selfishness tempered by good nature so well as in Provost Pawkie, or has so effectually represented the bright side of Sir Pertinax Macsycophancy as in Sir Andrew Wyllie. Mrs. Oliphant has drawn many delightful Scotch gentlewomen, although I agree with a writer in Blackwood's Magazine that her 294

Scotch servants are conventional; but she had not Miss Ferrier's perfect knowledge of the old Scots-not merely Scottish much less Scotch-lady of quality and character. Her world is a much larger one than Mr. Black's; but she never wrote such an exquisite idyll in the true sense, as A Daughter of Heth. She has not what Mrs. Ward has termed 'the golden art of Mr. Stevenson.' As Sir Walter was often slovenly, she was often dowdy, in style. She has not Mr. Barrie's miraculous insight into that hereditary saintliness which is to be found in the descendants of those on whom 'Calvinism' has held the strong hand of its purity; she has neither the humour nor the pathos of A Window in Thrums. It must be allowed also that some of her most ambitious Scotch stories are but ambitious failures. A number of her books, of which The Railway Man and His Children is perhaps the latest, but is not quite the worst, are simply to be regarded as conclusive evidence that Mrs. Oliphant perceived that middle Scotch life as it is lived in those crowded modern cities of which Glasgow is at once the model and the flagrant example, is a field that has yet to be worked by the novelist, and that she was incapable of working it. But when all this has been conceded, it must also be said of Mrs. Oliphant, if regard be had at once to the range of her subjects, to the reality of her characters, and to her artistic loyalty to the ideas which she found underlying the mere moral weaknesses of the men and women she has introduced the public to, that she is the greatest Scottish novelist that has appeared since the death of Scott. She may not have added an Alan Breck or a Master of Ballantrae, a Tammas Haggart or a Hendry M'Quhumpha, or even a Whaup to the gallery of Scottish character in fiction. But her lairds, her ministers-though she has never produced quite so good and finished a sketch as Ian Maclaren's Dr. Davidson of Drumtochty-her self-made men, her wives and mothers quite as devoted as George Eliot's 'Mrs. Amos Barton,' but endowed with a healthy amount of 'temper,' her innumerable girls, at once sweet and spirited, who are in training to take the places of these wives and mothers, represent Scottish life in its breadth and Scottish character in its depth with a completeness which cannot be claimed for any other writer during the last fifty years.

Mrs. Oliphant had none of the power, possessed both by Mr. Barrie and Mr. Stevenson, of 'realising' an episode or a character in a phrase. She required elbow-room. But when she permitted herself scope she could reproduce the angularities, the contradictions, above all the almost Pagan 'thrawnness' of the best Scotch characters in all their perfection. Take the following—it is impossible to do justice to Mrs. Oliphant except by quotation—from one of her shorter and least pretentious stories. Young John Rintoul brings the news of the drowning of his father to his home circle:

"The sloop's gone down atween this and St. Minan's; they've never been heard tell of in Anster. I found a bit of the wreck on the shore—ye a' mind it; and there's no anither token of them, man or boat, except at the bottom o' the sea!"

'John's hoarse breathless whisper was broken by a scream—it was but Euphie, who had in this intimation only a great shock, but scarcely any bereavement; and on his disengaged arm Ailie Rintoul laid a savage grasp, gripping him like a tiger—"Say it's a lee—say it's a story you've made—and I'll no curse ye, John Rintoul!"

'But Kirsteen Beatoun said not a word. Her eyes turned upon her son with a vacant stare, and her fingers kept opening and shutting with a strange idiotic motion; then, suddenly starting, she lifted up her hands, and bent her cowering head under their shadow, pressing her fingers over the eyes which would not close. John made no answer to the fierce question of his aunt—said nothing to soothe the terror of Euphie; his whole attention was given to his mother.

'There was a solemn pause—for even Ailie did not venture to speak now, till the wife and mother, doubly bereaved, had wakened from her stupor—and nothing but the low moans and sobs of Euphie disturbed the silence. It was but momentary, for they woke the stunned heart of Kirsteen, and roused her to know her grief.

""Comfort the bit poor thing, John—comfort her," said his mother, suddenly; "for she has her prop and her staff left to her, and has never heard the foot of deadly sorrow a' her days. The auld man and Patie—baith gane—a' gane—I ken it's true—I'm assured in my mind it's true; but I've nae feeling o't, man—nae feeling o't—nae mair than cauld iron or stane."

'And with a pitiful smile quivering upon her lips, and her eye gleaming dry and tearless, Kirsteen turned to pace up and down the little apartment. Strangely different in the first effort of her scarcely less intense grief, Ailie Rintoul turned now fiercely upon John—

"Have ye nae mair proof but this? A wave might wrench away a companion-door that wouldna founder a sloop—are ye gaun to be content with this, John Rintoul? He's game through as mony storms as there's grey hairs on his head—and ilka ane of them is numbered. Am I to believe the Lord would forsake His ain? I tell ye ye're wrang—ye're a' wrang—I'll never believe it. He may be driven out a hundred mile, or stranded on a desolate place, or ta'en refuge, or fechtin' on the sea; but ye needna tell me—I ken—I'll believe ye the Judgment's to be the morn, afore I believe my brother's lost."

'Hot tears blinded Ailie's eyes, and all the stiff sedateness of her mien had vanished in the wild gestures with which these words hurried from her lips; she paused at length, worn out and trembling with feverish excitement, and turned to the window to look out on the sea. John, still more completely exhausted, and lost in the deep hopeless despondency which had now succeeded to the first impatience of grief, stood at the table silent and unresponsive still; and the slow, heavy footsteps of Kir-

steen Beatonn sounded through the room like a knell.

""And it was for this ye minded of the bairns! Oh, John, my man, my man! and it was for this the Lord warned ye with a sight of them, and put dark words in your mouth, that I kent nae meaning to! No, Ailie; no lost: blessings on him where he is, where nae blessings fail! I never had dread nor doubt before, but put him freely in the Lord's hand to come and gang at His good pleasure—and he came like the day, and gaed like the night, as constant, serving his Maker. He's won hame at last—and the Lord help me for a puir desolate creature, that am past kenning what my trouble is. Patie, too: bairns—bairns, ye needna think me hardhearted because I canna greet—but it's a' cauld, cauld, like the blast that cast our boat away."

'And the poor widow leaned upon the wall, and struggled with some hard, dry, gasping sobs; but no tears came to soften the misery in her

eyes.

'Agnes was cowering in a corner, like one who shrinks from a great blow; Euphie wept and lamented passionately and aloud—she felt the stroke so much the least of all.'

Here, as in the tragedy of the Mucklebackits, and what Arnold would have termed 'the intolerable pathos' of the Kailyard, we have a revelation of Scotch 'humble' life in its complexity, its strength, its impotent resistance and final submission to the Divine will. Take, again, the following very different passage from Kirsteen. Kirsteen Douglas, the daughter of Drumcarro, the savage West Highland laird who has been a slave-driver in the West Indies, and who, in a moment of rage, has killed the young patrician Don Juan, whom he has found trying to persuade his youngest daughter to elope with him, is sent for by him on his death-bed, to help him to buy a property adjoining

his own, although she has 'disgraced' him by becoming a mantua maker in London:—

"Well," he said, with a slight appearance of embarrassment and a wave of his head, "here's just an opportunity. I have not the means of my own self. I would just have to sit and grin in this corner, where a severe Providence has thrown me, and see it go—to another of those damned Campbells, little doubt of that."

"What is it?" she said. Kirsteen had lifted her head too, like a horse scenting the battle from afar. She had not her father's hatred of his hereditary foes, but there was a fine strain of tradition in Kirsteen's veins.

"It's just Rosscraig—our own land, that's been in the Douglas name for hundreds of years, and out of it since attainder. I would be ready to depart in peace if I had it back."

'Kirsteen's eyes flashed in response. "If it's possible—but they will want a great sum for Rosscraig."

"Possible!" he cried with furious impatience. "How dare ye beguile me with your offer, if it's only to think of what's possible? I can do that mysel'. Does one of your name condescend to a dirty trade, and serve women that are not fit to tie a Douglas's shoe, and then come to me and talk of what's possible? If that's all, give up your mantua-making and your trading that's a disgrace to your family, and come back and look after the house, which will set you better. Possible!" he cried, the fire flying from his eyes and the foam from his mouth. "For what do you demean yourself—and me to permit it—if it's no possible?" He came to the end on a high note, with the sharpness of indignant passion in his voice.

'Kirsteen had followed every word with a kindling countenance, with responsive flame in her eyes. "Ye speak justly," she said, with a little heaving of her breast. "For them to whom it's natural a little may suffice. But I that do it against nature am bound to a different end." She paused a little, thinking; then raised her head. "It shall be possible," she said.

'He held out his thin and trembling fingers, which were like eagle's claws.

"Your hand upon it," he cried. The hot clutch made Kirsteen start and shiver. He dropped her hand with an excited laugh. "That's the first bargain," he said, "was ever made between father and child to the father's advantage—at least, in this house. And a lass,—and all my fine lads that I sent out for honour and for gain." He leant back on his pillows with feeble sobs of sound, the penalty of his excitement. "Not for me," he said, "not for me, though I would be the first—but for the auld name, that was once so great."

'Kirsteen unfolded the paper tremulously, with tears lingering on her eyelashes. "Father, if ye will look here—"

"You think much of your London town and your great world, as ye call it, but I think more of my forbears' name and the lands they had, and to bring

to confusion a false race, Kirsteen," he put out his hand again, and drew her close to the bedside, clutching her arm. "I'll tell you a thing I've told nobody. It was me that did it. I just took and threw him down the linn. Me an old man, him a young one, and as false as hell. He was like the serpent at that bairn's lug; and I just took him by the scruff of the neck. My hand's never got the better of it," he added, thrusting her away suddenly, and looking at his right hand, blowing upon it as if to remove the stiffness of the strain.

"Father!" Kirsteen cried, with subdued horror, "what was it you did?"

He chuckled with sounds of laughter that seemed to dislocate his throat. "I took him by the scruff of the neck—I never thought I would have had the strength. It was just passion. The Douglases have that in them; they're wild when they're roused. I took him by the scruff of the neck. He never made a struggle. I know nothing more about it, if he was living or dead."

""Ye killed him!" cried Kirsteen with terror. "Oh, it's no possible!"
""There ye are with your possibles again. It's just very possible when a man's blood's up. He's not the first," he said, in a low tone, turning his face to the wall. He lay muttering there for some time words of which Kirsteen could only hear, "the scruff of the neck," "no struggle," "it's hurt my hand, though," till in the recoil from his excitement Drumcarro fell fast asleep and remembered no more."

Here we have 'elemental passion'—and elemental Scottish passion-with a vengeance. That Mrs. Oliphant, so fond of good-natured fathers and gentle hard-worked mothers as often as not with a tear in the eye should have given two such pictures of Scottish diabolism and moral decadence as Drumcarro-who is more real than Stevenson's Master of Ballantrae—and Lord Lindores, whose moral ruin it effected by his accession to an estate, is one of the most notable of her achievements, another evidence of what she might have done, had circumstances allowed her to write but one-tenth of what she has written. Even as a Scotch novelist Mrs. Oliphant had her limitations. One of these has been indicated by a critic who has written of her with personal knowledge and who says :- 'That the whole bent of her opinion was Conservative is manifest enough, and her code of ethics was as old-fashioned as the Ten Commandments. She was too wise to believe in panaceas for the distemperature of mankind, or to suppose that human nature could be revolutionised by the invention of a taking formula or the turning of a felicitous phrase.' Mrs. Oliphant's conservatism gives strength to a great number of her characters; the best of them are those she herself liked best, because they are in favour of the old order in morals and the conduct of private life, if not in politics and the government of society. But it has also limited her range. As I have already said, she has not succeeded in entering into the life of the Scottish bourgeoisie as it is to be found in the commercial cities. Probably she detested the vulgarity so commonly associated with that pursuit of wealth which is the leading aim of the wealthier section of such bourgeoisie. It is quite certain that for æsthetic reasons she shrunk from entering into and reproducing the moral and physical squalor of the slums that are the purlieus of wealth in cities. And although she admired and defended Burns, it may be doubted whether her attitude towards the Scottish peasantry was not to some extent that of kindly patronage rather than of thorough-going sympathy. Such of them as respect and follow their 'betters,' as walk in the old paths of decorum and devoutness, she admires and has drawn with a loving as well as artistic hand. But she could not understand much less approve of latter-day democratic aspirations. She had an impatient horror of that unlovely aspect of Scottish village life which is best known to members of Kirk Sessions. She was a realist, but there are depths of reality which she refused even to attempt to fathom, to her own loss and her public's. For she thus failed to discover that soul of goodness which is to be found in the most squalid environment.

The leading defects of Mrs. Oliphant as a novelist flow very readily indeed off tongue and pen. She was not a great 'stylist' in any sense of that much abused word. She could not write like Stevenson, or even like Mrs. Humphry Ward at her best, as in Robert Elsmere. She was not a puissant genius like Dickens. She had not Thackeray's insight into the seamy side of character. As a contriver of plots and 'strong situations' she was hopelessly behind many even among her second-rate contemporaries, like Miss Braddon and Wilkie Collins; indeed, it is so much to the credit of Mrs. Oliphant that she is popular in spite of her inability to make a plot. To her was not entrusted, as to Mr.

Hardy and Mr. Meredith, the divine Shakespearian mission of portraying beings that never lived on earth, but will live for ever. Yet when this is conceded, it must also be conceded that for variety of character and, within certain limits clearly defined by the range both of her experiences and her sympathies, for fidelity to fact, she is surpassed by none of her contemporaries. She is the first of Scottish romancists since Scott. Among British novelists of the Victorian era, she occupies the first place in the second rank; or, if some one must be bracketed equal with her, it is Anthony Trollope. Above all things she appears in her life, as in her work, a good and infinitely industrious woman, performing hard work unrepiningly under very unfavourable circumstances, and trying to make the world around her brighter—and better because brighter.

AN OLD PERSONAL FRIEND.

ART. V.—THE NEW WOMAN ON THE BIBLE.

The Woman's Bible. Part I., 2nd Edition. Edited by ELIZABETH CADY STANTON. New York, 1895.

THE modern woman, bred in the 'New Spirit,' is very multifarious in her works. Her 'rights' and her 'wrongs' are for ever confronting us in new dresses. Not content to tread the well-paved ways allotted to her sex in the past, she must needs keep battering at the pales and barriers which have hitherto shut them in. In their feverish impatience to pluck every leaf and fruit from the tree of knowledge, our modern Aspasias and Hippolytes will not be restrained from searching out every devious by-path, fair or foul, that promises aught which is new. The fermentation of the new wine has got into their heads, and fostered strange forms of self-assertion and unblushing self-exposure. A branch of this modern female school have probed every sex-question to the quick, and laid woman, body and soul, so bare to us that scarce a rag has remained to cover her nakedness. We

have been surfeited with the Lyndalls and Evadnes of fiction. the 'second-hand husbands,' the Monas with their moans over the feminine 'dumb despair of trampled centuries,' the Hermaphrodites of the 'Keynotes,' the man-hating Belindas 'bumps of philo-progenitiveness,' the Christines and Lotuses, the Gwen Stranges of the 'Yellow Aster' type, the 'Gallia' woman who, like Amazonian Thalestris, selects her mate on hereditary lines, the Marie Bashkirtzeffs, and all the variants of the too, too well-known tribe. Women everywhere are thrusting themselves in increasing numbers into the places of men, and the advanced band among them have wheedled or importuned our legislators so successfully into dallying with woman suffrage that at last we are face to face with an agitation leading up to a future majority of female voters, and with the possibility of having the affairs of our great empire 'conducted after the manner of women and not after the manner of men.'

And now it has been reserved for the new woman in this latest decade of a much vaunted century to discover a novel field for her literary energies—the production of a Woman's Bible by a company of exclusively female revisers.

To enter upon the domain of Biblical criticism were far indeed from the intention or competency of the present writer. Such a theme, moreover, would better befit a specifically theological serial than the pages of this Review. The standpoint from which I desire to present to the reader this soidisant Woman's Bible is the singularity of the book with its avowed aims and arguments, and the reflected light these cast upon the revolutionary woman's character. The title seems somewhat of a misnomer, at least in this 1st part of the published work, which covers only the Pentateuch; for the book is not a re-translation or new version of the Sacred Writ, but simply a collection of female commentaries thereupon.

The number of commentators and critics of the Scriptural text is legion. The mere catalogue of them in the British Museum takes up several folios. We know not if the ladies who are responsible for the publication under review have the intention, or the gifts, or the patience, to sift and digest a millesimal fraction of the weighty authorities on Biblical

exegesis. They may have dipped into the works of the modern school of so-called 'higher criticism.' They may have culled ideas from De Wette and Renan, Graf, Baur, and Friedrich Strauss. For aught we know they may have ransacked the later learned dissertations on the vexed questions of the date, composition, and authorship of the Pentateuch or Hexateuch; such treatises, say, as those of Kuenen, Wellhausen, Kautzsch, Reuss, Stade, Kittel, and Lenormant. And in the coming parts of their work they may think to reinforce their 'free handling' of the older Scriptures from the writings of Otto Pfleiderer and Professor Maspero.

A perusal, however, of this Woman's Bible is scarcely calculated to reassure the reader as to the width or depth of the research bestowed upon it. A few sporadic references to commentators are vouchsafed us, among which Adam Clarke and Thomas Scott figure oftenest, though these two are cited rather by way of contrast to our revisers' superior enlightenment. Once or twice we have a réchauffé of the bald and unconvincing cavillings of a late sceptical African bishop against the letter of the Mosaic narrative. But the great bulk of the ladies' animadversions appear to be evolved from their own inner consciousness rankling over the non-emancipation of the Scriptural women. The general drift of the criticisms, such as they are, in the volume before us, is to throw as much discredit as possible on the value and authenticity of the Pentateuchal Record, for the apparent reason, as we shall presently see, that this Record is silent or hostile as to the rights of women, or at all events to the asserted rights of the New Woman and the equality she claims with man. Indeed, the view of these feminine revisers seems very much that expressed by the prince of darkness to the Divine Master in the 'Paradise Regained':-

'All knowledge is not couched in Moses' law,
The Pentateuch, or what the prophets wrote:
The Gentiles also know, and write and teach
To admiration, led by nature's light.'

To attempt to discriminate between the various ancient texts of the Septuagint, the Massoretic (Hebrew), the old

Syriac, Targum, old Latin, and the Latin Vulgate, and to reconstruct a Version of the Pentateuch after the fashion, let us say, essayed for other parts of Holy Writ by Lagarde, Cornill, and Wellhausen, might be a Herculean labour doubtless, but it might at least serve as another useful brick laid on to the splendid edifice of Scriptural translation. The lady-writers of these new commentaries have devoted themselves to no such enterprise. Rather has their aim been to pull down the whole structure.

When we think of the sum of human toil and patience and devout study that have been bestowed upon translations and recensions of the sacrosanct writings, whether displayed in the Egyptian, Ethiopic, Coptic, Armenian, Arabic, Slavonic, and other Biblical reproductions,-or in cognate undertakings in the English tongue, e.g., the Bible of Wyclif, of Tyndale, of Miles Coverdale, the 'Matthew's Bible' of John Rogers, the so-called 'Breeches Bible' of Geneva, Archbishop Parker's Bishop's Bible, the Douai Text, and our Authorised Version of 1611; -or, again, contemplate the multitudinous modern renderings of the Scriptures in well-nigh every known language:-when, I say, we try to realise all this enormous polyglot industry, we are bound to recognise the paramount claims of the Book of Books to man's super-reverent attention, and the amazing difficulties of the task of criticising it. As to our Authorised Version, which now bears upon its pages the seal and imprimatur of reverent acceptance through all but three centuries, a host of eminent men of diverse communions have borne testimony to its general accuracy and high excellence.' Yet to meet the desire of some for the emendation of its occasional small verbal defects, a further Revision of the Sacred Text has recently, at the instance of the Convocation of Canterbury, been undertaken by a band of associated English and American scholars of known competency. Revision was completed in 1884, and it is marvellous, all things considered, how few and minute are its deviations from the older and more familiar Authorised Version.

Nevertheless, as will appear presently, the outcome of all this mass of erudition and authority has not sufficed for the aspirations of the modern woman. For, it had the primal and essential taint that, with a single exception, no female had been enlisted for the work. The revisers and translators were all men!

We will now proceed to an examination of the contents of the Woman's Bible. The Revising Committee, a list of whom is appended to the book, numbers 28 ladies, most of them presumably American; but it would appear that some foreign female members are to be added. In this Committee three female ministers of religion—or shall we call them clergy-women—prefix the style 'Reverend' to their names. Among the British representatives there figures a lady well-known for her zeal towards woman suffrage, and also as being a near kinswoman of a late distinguished orator and statesman, Mrs. Priscilla Bright M'Laren. Eight ladies are allotted by name to act as commentators on the Pentateuch, of whom six belong to the trans-Atlantic group of the Committee. There is a Preface, and a plan sketched out:—

'The object,' says the editress, Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, 'is to review only those texts and chapters directly referring to women, and those also in which women are made prominent by exclusion. . . . The Commentaries will be of a threefold character, those on the plain English version being reserved for the Committee. These are women of earnestness and liberal ideas, quick to see the real purport of the Bible as regards their sex. Among them the various books of the Old and New Testament will be distributed for comment.'

Here it may be observed that the scope and limits of the treatise as set forth therein are not altogether free from obscurity. Thus, we are told by the editress [Introduction, p. 12] that her 'standpoint for criticism is the revised edition of 1888;' while in an Appendix (p. 149), it is stated that 'the Revising Committee refer to a woman's translation of the Bible as their ultimate authority for the Greek, Latin, and Hebrew Text.' The woman referred to is a certain Julia Smith, an American lady, who died in 1886, and who, it appears, accomplished unaided no less than five translations of the Bible into English, 'twice from the Hebrew, twice from the Greek, and once from the Latin.'

I pass next to the 'Introduction,' which opens with the following exordium:-

'From the inauguration of the movement for woman's emancipation, the Bible has been used to hold her in the "divinely ordained sphere" prescribed in the Old and New Testament. The canon and civil law, Church and State, priests and legislators, all political parties and religious denominations, have alike taught that woman was made after man, of man, and for man, an inferior being, subject to man. Creeds, codes, Scriptures and statutes, are all based on this idea. The fashions, forms, ceremonies, and customs of society, Church ordinances and discipline, all grow out of this idea.'

Mrs. Stanton is again the writer, and the burden of her remarks is what she calls 'the Bible position of woman,' which she thoroughly resents:—

'If,' she says, 'the Bible teaches the equality of woman, why does the Church refuse to ordain women to preach the Gospel, to fill the offices of deacons and elders, and to administer the Sacraments, or to admit them as delegates to the Synods, General Assemblies, and Conferences of the different denominations? They have never yet invited a woman to join one of their Revising Committees.

The undertaking, we are told, of this Woman's Bible 'is very encouraging to those who have inaugurated the movement, and indicates a growing self-respect (?) and self-assertion (!) in the women of this generation.' 'Why,' she asks, 'is it more ridiculous for a woman to protest against her present status in the Old and New Testament, in the ordinances and discipline of the Church, than in the statutes and constitution of the State?' This is to say that woman's social and political degradation is an outgrowth of her status in the Bible. Her complete independence can only be achieved by an entire revolution in all existing institutions.

'Again,' says our Editress, 'there are some who write us that our work is a useless expenditure of force over a book that has lost its hold on the human mind. Most intelligent women, they say, regard it simply as the history of a rude people in a barbarous age, and have no more reverence for the Scriptures than any other work.'

She laments that 'The masses in all English-speaking nations' revere the Bible 'as the Word of God.' 'All the religions on the face of the earth degrade' woman. 'Whatever the Bible

may be made to do in Hebrew or Greek, in plain English it does not exalt and dignify woman.'

This is pretty strong as a preliminary indication of the tone and spirit of our New Woman's venture. But through all this Introduction, as indeed throughout the book, one thing is made clear. However eager the 'New Eve' may be to fasten and insist upon the alleged inaccuracies of our accepted versions of the Scriptures, it has to be reluctantly admitted by Mrs. Stanton that 'The verbal criticism in regard to woman's position amounts to little.' No conceivable recension or retranslation by Julia Smiths or Elizabeth Stantons, or by any of the malcontent junta of advanced women, can read woman's rights or emancipation, or female-suffrage, or non-differentiation from man, into the text of the Sacred Writ. And it is her palpable conviction of this non possumus—this impotence to wrest the Scripture to her service—which barbs the weapons the female Progressive is so ardent to turn against it.

From the Introduction of the Woman's Bible let us turn to the body of the book. I shall not attempt to notice seriatim the comments of the revising ladies; it must suffice to select a few examples on the principle of 'ab uno disce omnes.'

The first book dealt with by our feminine expositors is Genesis. The system of criticism adopted is to pick out arbitrarily such parts of chapters as appear to the commentators to bear directly or indirectly on their sex. Each dissertation is subscribed with the initials of the particular writer

responsible for it.

The story of the Creation furnishes some suggestive and novel ideas. 'It is evident,' says Mrs. Stanton, 'that there was consultation in the Godhead, and that the masculine and feminine element were equally represented. But instead of three male personages as generally represented, Heavenly Father, Mother, and Son, would seem more rational.' In the presence of transcendent mysteries incomprehensible to human ken, we may perhaps, without heterodoxy, recognise a substratum of truth in the conception of a feminine principle contained within the Godhead—a conception more or less shadowed in the Roman branch of the Christian Church.

One of the writers, Lillie Devereux Blake, finds consolation in the gradually ascending series of the creations, because, succeeding man, at the top of the tree so to say, comes 'the last and crowning glory of the whole, woman.'

> O! fairest of creation, last and best Of all God's works"...

wrote the sublimest of our singers. There be few, of us men at all events, who will incline to dispute this reading of the That there are two separate accounts of the Creation in the 1st and 2nd chapters of Genesis must be patent to all readers. The most orthodox will admit so much, even should they deem the one merely an expansion of the other. Indeed, a dual strain or literary style in the early Scriptures, known as Elohistic and Jehovistic, has come to be recognised by most schools of theological criticism, and may probably be traced in the twofold story of the Deluge. Some go farther and claim, I believe, to have found two different Elohistic hands in the writings of the Pentateuch. Others, who contend for the composite character of the Old Testament text, have traced four distinct sources in the script of the book of Our lady-expositors, lay stress on the asserted discrepancies of the two Biblical narratives of the Creation, extolling the prior one as equalising the sexes, but flouting the other for its doctrine of woman's subjection. Yet it is something to find one of the writers (Clara Bewick Colby) acknowledging that 'Nothing can surpass in grandeur the account in the first chapter of Genesis of the creation of the race.

From the contemplation of 'the Heavenly Mother and Father' (mark the sequence), in the beginning of all things, we are led on to the Temptation and Fall. The principal lessons, it would seem, to be derived from the story of the Satanic seduction of our primal mother are 'the lofty ambition of the woman,' her insatiable craving for 'the wisdom of the gods,' and 'that intense thirst for knowledge that the simple pleasures of picking flowers and talking with Adam did not satisfy.' This last naive admission recalls a certain dean's delightful story of an old-fashioned Scottish gentlewoman's views

on the same subject, which I may be pardoned for quoting. She had begun too tardily a course of Bible reading at the feet of her parish pastor, and when questioned by him as to her impressions of the leading incidents related of our first parents, gave in substance this somewhat froward but outspoken reply. 'Weel, Doctor, it would ha' been sma' pleesure to me to rin naked about a gairden eatin' green aipples.'

'Recent historians,' we are informed, 'tell us that for centuries woman reigned supreme.' The dull male understanding might humbly acknowledge that in her especial manner she has always done so. 'That period was called the Matriarchate. Then man seized the reins of government, and we are now under the Patriarchate. . . . The next dynasty, in which both will reign as equals, will be the Amphiarchate, which is close at hand.' But surely it might not unreasonably be held that woman's 'home rule' in the family is already a very fair matriarchate, and among the masses a quite adequate share of the amphiarcate.

The biographies of Abraham and Sarah are somewhat differently viewed by three of our lady-writers. The editress is scornful and severe on the cruelty and injustice of both these personages. Miss Colby reads their story in a much fairer spirit, and recognises in this woman beautiful to look upon the attributes of a distinguished mother of kings. But whether the wife of the great patriarch of Chaldwan Ur should be regarded as the precursor of the coming woman of undwarfed individuality who is hereafter 'to claim her birthright of freedom,' may be more open to question. Miss Blake, while commending Abram for his monotheism, yet finds 'his conduct to the last degree reprehensible.'

Next follow some observations on the character of Rebekah, 'the subject for some charming pictures.' 'Women,' we read, 'as milkmaids and drawers of water, with pails and pitchers on their heads, are always artistic, and far more attractive to men than those with votes in their hands at the polling-booths, or as queens, ruling over the destinies of nations.' 'Why,' asks Mrs. Stanton, 'did not Laban and Bethuel draw the water for the household and the cattle.' . . 'The Rebekahs of

1895,' she adds, 'would never have drawn water at a well for a stranger and his camels without promptly summoning the (male) bystanders to their aid.' Madame Hansson, in a recent book, Modern Woman, deprecates 'the intense and morbid consciousness of the Ego' in her sex nowadays, which overdone education and perverted fiction have developed. Another authoress (Mrs. Roy Devereux), criticising the fin-de-siècle woman, emphasises 'the sublimity of her self-esteem.' Max Nordau and Ibsen have had their say on this new degeneracy of egomania. And now our editress writes down a not so very dissimilar article of the modern woman's religion. 'The virtue of self-sacrifice has its wise limitations. Though it is most commendable to serve our fellow-beings, yet woman's first duty is to herself, to develop all her own powers and possibilities, that she may better guide and serve the next generation.' And again, further on (p. 84): 'I would fain teach women that self-development is a higher duty than selfsacrifice.'

Mrs. Stanton evidently has a feminine leaning for romance and episodes that have to do with the tender passion. She is disappointed to find so little of this element in the Biblical pages, and thinks that, without falsifying the important facts of history, the Revising Committees might have condescended to infuse 'a little sentiment into these ancient manuscripts.' This same note of disappointment is elsewhere discernible in the book. The asserted essential divinity of the element of sex, the 'eternal feminine leading us on,' female evolution, the failure of marriage, and the like—such themes so dear to the new Eve are not to be found within the four corners of the inspired Volume.

Miss Colby reads 'this romantic pastoral' of the betrothal of Rebekah to Isaac in a sense differently from her collaborator, and one more consonant with the lofty but simple dignity of the Scripture recitals. She considers it an illustration of the high position held by women among this ancient people, and finds in it no teaching of woman's subordination. 'How serenely beautiful and chaste,' she says, 'appear the marriage customs of the Bible as compared with some that are wholly

of man's invention.' Which is indeed only the truth. Her view of the daughter of Bethuel is that 'she seems to have had things her own way, and therefore she did not set any marked example of wifely submission for women of to-day to follow.' This may be so, but it is certainly not difficult to find lessons of wifely submission otherwhere in the Sacred page.

As is not unbefitting, the same commentatress bestows a passing word of appreciation on the exquisitely suggestive passage (Gen. xxix. 20) recording the youthful Hebrew's devotion to Rachel the beautiful and well-favoured, and his seven years of self-imposed service, which 'seemed unto him but a few days for the love he had to her.' Mrs. Stanton also discourses on the relations of Jacob with the daughters of Laban, and upon the preference evinced by Jews, to-day much as aforetime, to have sons born to them rather than daughters. 'They believe,' she observes, 'in the home sphere for all women, that wifehood and motherhood are the most exalted offices. If they are really so considered why does every Jew on each returning Holy Day say in reading the service "I thank thee, Oh Lord, that I was not born a woman." She might have added that the Moslems are generally credited with addressing to Allah a like thanksgiving. Gentiles,' she proceeds, ' are of the same opinion, why do they consider the education of boys more important than that of The answer was surely not far to seek. the male is usually the principal bread-winner, scientist, and skilled operative-representative and guardian of the household-enforcer of the law and defender of the commonwealth. Because nature has for the most part given him strength both of brain and body exceeding the woman's. I have heard more than one girl's lament that she was not born of the masculine gender. One of the advanced fiction-writers, Olive Schreiner, has enlarged to great lengths on the same longing of her sex. Mrs. Anna Kingsford, another of the new evangelists, has struck the self-same chord in one of her sibvline rhapsodies about the coming 'dies dominae.' 'Women shall no more lament for their womanhood: but men shall rather say "O that we had been born women."' Maybe: but meantime the

man may feel more disposed to be grateful that he 'was not born a woman' of the new or neurotic type!

Mrs. Stanton reluctantly admits that 'The home sphere has so many attractions that most women prefer it to all others.' And why not? Why should it be made an indictment against them that they incline to such attractions rather than to the more turbid atmosphere of the New Woman's excitements—the public platform, the garb and pastimes of men, the propaganda of female enfranchisement, the struggle for masculine place and power. This is just what the dense, domineering, dullard of the male kind has never been able to comprehend!

I will conclude the revisers' gleanings from the book of Genesis, with an allusion by the editress to Aholibamah, the wife of Esau, and mother of three dukes. Mrs. Stanton tells us she would have liked to find in the Bible 'A knowledge of some of her characteristics, what she thought, said, and did, her theories of life in general. One longs all through Genesis to know what the women thought of a strictly masculine dynasty.' Verily a strange mental attitude towards the Word such an observation seems to reveal; as though the Book of Life should have been made a symposium of entertaining biographies, travels, and feminine introspections.

The ladies' descant upon the book of Exodus is almost entirely left in the hands of their reviser-in-chief. Concerning Pharaoh's admonition to the Hebrew mid wives, and the Divine approval of their action, we are informed that Origen and other more recent writers have ascribed a deep spiritual meaning to these passages, but that none of the interpretations 'are complimentary to our unfortunate sex.' Reviewing the life of Moses and the establishment of the Mosaic code, our editress commits herself to another rather sweeping statement: 'These [the Jewish] people had no written language at that time, and could neither read nor write.' But what says that profoundly learned Biblicist, the late Georg Heinrich Ewald of Göttingen, who certainly cannot be charged with overcredulity or undue orthodoxy: 'So much is incontrovertible, that it [ink-writing] appears in history as a possession of the Semitic nations long before Moses, and one need not scruple to assume that Israel knew and used it in Egypt before The 2nd chapter of Exodus discontents our reviser in that, among 'about a dozen women' mentioned therein, all save Zipporah are nameless. The names of women and slaves are of no importance. It is an affront to her that her sex, in these modern days, should on marriage or re-marriage have to take the surnames of their husbands, 'We have had,' she says, 'in this generation one married woman in England, and one in America, who had one name from birth to death, and, though married, they kept it.' And the following reflections are added: 'Why should women, denied all their political rights, obey laws to which they have never given their consent, either by proxy or in person . . . and why should they obey the behests of a strictly masculine religion that places the sex at a disadvantage in all life's emergencies?'

Again, part of the 4th chapter of Exodus suggests a feminine grievance and a question:—

'Although the Mosaic code and customs so plainly degrade the female sex, and their position in the Church to-day grows out of these ancient customs, yet many people insist that our religion dignifies women. But so long as the Pentateuch is read and accepted as the Word of God, an undefined influence is felt by each generation that destroys a proper respect for all womankind. . Do our sons, in their theological seminaries, rise from their studies of the Mosaic laws and Paul's epistles with higher respect for their mothers? . . As long as our religion teaches woman's subjection and man's right of domination, we shall have chaos in the world of morals.'

The reader will long since have discovered the head and front of our revisers' fault-finding with the canon of Scripture.

Those who know their Old Testament will remember the chapter recounting the generous manner in which the Israelites of both sexes lavished their voluntary offerings for the adornment of the Lord's tabernacle. All brought their best without stint. 'And all the women that were wise-hearted did spin with their hands, and brought that which they had spun, both of blue, and of purple, and of scarlet, and of fine linen, and all the women, whose heart stirred them up in wisdom, spun

^{*} See Geschichte des Volkes Israel (Eng. transl., Martineau), pp. 50-51.

goats' hair' (Ex. xxxv. 25-26). The editress of the Woman's Bible is not much impressed with these liberal services to the Most High:—

'Some women in our times,' she remarks, 'think these unhappy Jewesses would have been much 'wiser-hearted' if they had kept their jewelry and beautiful embroideries to decorate themselves and their homes, where they were at least satellites of the dinner-pot and the cradle, and goddesses at their own altars. Seeing they had no right inside the sacred Temple, but stood, looking-glass in hand, at the door, it would have indicated more self-respect to have washed their hands of all that pertained to male ceremonies, altars, and temples.'

In concluding the comments on the second book of the Pentateuch, Mrs. Blake consoles herself and her sex with the reflection that 'at every stage of his existence Moses was indebted to some woman for safety and success.' This, we may allow, is no more than the good fortune of many, perhaps most, malekind. But it may be permitted us to question her pessimistic pronouncement on this part of the Mosaic revelation that 'whether fact or fiction, it is one of the most melancholy records in human history.'

Of Leviticus our commentators make short work. We may note here the suggestion made more than once that an expurgated or Bowdlerised edition of the Bible is highly desirable, and should long since have been prepared. Such an idea is not altogether new, for in earlier times restrictions were imposed on the reading of the Bible in the vernacular, on the ground, I believe, that it was unsuitable for the very young and ignorant, and specially dangerous in the hands of the evil-disposed, who had not the key to its interpretation, that is, the traditional teaching of the Church. But these restrictions became gradually obsolete, and at this time of day, when the realist is abroad, we are not going to clip and trim the pages of Holy Writ to meet the susceptibilities or false delicacy of certain purists. One is glad to find oneself in accord with the editress in respect of the 'social habits and sanitary conditions' prescribed by Moses to the children of Israel. Since cleanliness is next to godliness, it is quite true that 'The virtue of cleanliness so sedulously taught cannot be too highly commended.' But in the Levitical injunctions infinitely more than mere corporeal sanitary cleansings and ablutions, and precautions against contagion, are inculcated. In the scrupulous purification of the members of the priesthood before approaching the holy things or coming 'nigh unto the altar,' in the freewill offering of the living creature 'without blemish,' the oblation of first fruits, the tresspass offering, the sin offering, the scapegoat of atonement, the scarlet wool and the hyssop, with all the minute details of the religious ceremonial of these Hebrews, surely in these sacred ordinances even a tyro in the Christian faith can trace without difficulty the 'figure for the time then present' emblemizing the Exalted Arch-Priest yet for to come, 'having

neither beginning of days nor end of life!'

Our lady-exegetes enter upon the book of Numbers with a note of implied dissatisfaction:-to wit, that the census ordered to be taken of the Israelites included only males. Mrs. Stanton suggests that such references in the Biblical page as 'the children of Jacob by Leah, the children of Jacob by Zilpah, the children of Jacob by Rachel, the children of Jacob by Bilhah,' should more properly be rendered 'the children of Leah, Zilpah, Rachel, and Bilhah by Jacob, making Jacob the incident instead of the four women.' But does not this savour of feminine hyper-criticism? Concerning Miriam, we are told that she showed 'great self-respect and self-assertion in expressing her opinion-qualities most lacking in ordinary women.' Further, 'if Miriam had helped to plan the journey to Canaan, it would no doubt have been accomplished in forty days instead of forty years.' Objection is next taken to the custom whereby woman has to keep her head covered in church while men uncover. This is considered derogatory to her sex as implying inequality. To point the moral, an English lady is cited, who 'made the experiment of going to the established church without her bonnet,' which resulted in an admonition from the bishop of the diocese that she must either cover her head when she came to the sanctuary or stay away from church altogether,' a very natural and proper remonstrance. The lady, 'the wife of a British colonel' (save the mark), chose the latter alternative. To this another of

the revisers (Mrs. Louisa Southworth) adds a rider. 'If the command to keep silence in the churches has no higher origin than that to keep covered in public, should so much weight be given it, or should it be so often quoted as having Divine sanction?' And then follows an attempt to discredit the inspiration and authority, and even the genuineness, of St. Paul's teaching, especially his 'mandates concerning women.'

Our editress grows severe on the priests and pastors of Christendom. 'Our Levites,' she observes, 'have their homes free, and good salaries from funds principally contributed by women, for preaching denunciatory sermons on women and their sphere.' Again, 'this whole chapter (Numb. xviii.) is interesting reading as the source of priestly power, that has done more to block woman's way to freedom than all other earthly influences combined.' Coming to the 22nd chapter, Mrs, Stanton commits herself to the singular avowal that 'the chief point of interest in this parable of Balaam and his ass is that the latter belonged to the female sex.' Either this is meant to be sarcastic, or it is another illustration of the oftasserted contention that women have no sense of humour.

In treating the book of Deuteronomy our revisers evince the same spirit and harp on the same string as throughout their preceding ratiocinations. Again the Mosaic order comes in for disapprobation. 'We cannot accept any code or creed that uniformly defrauds woman of all her natural rights.' 'Woman's secondary place in the world' is the popular idea. On the other hand, the Rev. Phebe Hannaford does in a measure rise to some apprehension of the beauty and grandeur and solemnity of the closing chapters of this book of the Law.

In view of the proclivities of some modern representatives of her sex towards masculine attire, our editress might not inaptly have drawn attention to the injunction in Deut. xxii. 5.

'The woman shall not wear that which pertaineth to a mau.'

. . . But she has not done so.

The commentaries are concluded with a final word on the bearing of the Pentateuch by Ursula N. Gestefeld. After the manner of her revising sisters, the burden of 'Woman's Rights' is heavy upon her.

'It is no wonder,' she urges, 'that woman's true relation to man and just position in the social fabric has remained unknown. A Moses on Pisgah's height is needed to-day to see and declare the promised land.

. . . Her religious nature is warped and twisted through generations of denominational conservatism; which fact, by the way, is the greatest stumbling-block in the path of equal suffrage to-day, and one to which the leaders of that movement have seemed unaccountably blind. Thus woman's strongest foes have been of her own sex.'

Which last is quite true of the advanced 'political equality' woman: the great body of her own sex have the sound intuition to be against her.

With the above exceptions, however, Miss Gestefeld strikes one as taking a larger and juster view of the Sacred Writings than any other of the commentating ladies. Speaking of what the Bible teaches concerning the relations of the sexes, she observes that one sex 'cannot take the place of the other because of the fundamental nature of each. The work of each half in its own place is necessary to the perfect whole.' Most true: and what comes afterwards is equally true, though lamentable to contemplate. 'Woman's intellectual development,' she says, 'after ages of repression, has resulted with many of the sex in an agnosticism which, at first liberal, has grown to be a dogmatic materialism. She speaks against spiritual insight and its revelations. In forsaking her dogmas and creeds she has forsaken religion.' And some consciousness of the barren and nugatory task her colleagues have set themselves in attempting to deride the Mosaic canon seems to show itself in the next sentence, the last I shall have occasion to quote. 'An outline of a subject so vast and profound as the nature and meaning of the Pentateuch must necessarily be more or less unsatisfactory. It cannot be detached from the rest of the Bible, which is a complete organic body.' In short, this is very much what has always been insisted on by the defenders of the Faith, and was expressed, I think, in a saying of St. Augustine:-that the Old Testament is patent in the New, and the New Testament is latent in the Old.

From the copious verbatim extracts I have given from The Woman's Bible, the reader will now be in a position to gather the general opinions and aims of its compilers. That

such a book, turned out from a female workshop, should have been published in the last expiring years of this 19th cycle of the Christian era, is indeed a curious outcome of the 'larger freedom' of the age, and a portent of the further growth of that so-called progression which too oft is but another word for decadence. Doubtless, the very singularity of the notion of a self-constituted female syndicate sitting down with lancet and scalpel to prick, snip, and pull to pieces the sublimest collection of writings ever bequeathed to mankind, would of itself help to sell such a book. The great sale, for example, of Mrs. Ward's novel, Robert Elsmere, was generally understood to have been largely due to the heterodox views of Christian doctrine it propounded in an attractive modern guise. and to the enhanced publicity these views obtained from Mr. Gladstone's adverse criticism of them. That the treatise under review has secured some attention may be surmised from the fact that the copy I procured is enfaced as one of a 2nd edition of 'ten thousand.' Moreover, the American periodicals must have pretty extensively advertised the work, if we may judge from a catalogue of Press comments on its 'advance sheets.'

Let me give a few specimens of these:- 'Mrs. Stanton's efforts to reverse the Bible, and to make a woman's Bible of it, is "the clarion call of a new idea" . . . 'Mrs. Stanton is especially gratified with the reception that has been given to those parts of her Woman's Bible which have been published, though it has not met with the approval of theologians, Biblical critics, or Hebrew scholars . . . ' 'We see that the women have at last come to the conclusion that the Christian Bible treats their sex unjustly; that it is not up to date on the woman question, and they propose to revise it. . . . ' 'A celebrated divine holds the devil responsible for the Woman's Bible. . . 'The new Woman's Bible is one of the remarkable productions of the century. . . 'The ministers are unanimous against the revision. . .' 'The work is unique. Its aim is to help the cause of woman in her battle for equality. . .' 'This commentary is attracting newspaper comment far and wide. The committee includes women of

the most diverse religious views. . . 'We hardly think the condition of the prospects of woman will be at all improved by this proposed new version of the Bible. . .' 'The new women are about to revise the Bible so as to make it conform to the advanced ideas of the omniscient sisterhood.'

What is the salient impression left in one's mind after perusal of this jejune and ill-digested literary production? Some of its criticism approaches the puerile: much is idle, captious, and not seldom flippant. As literature, its style barely attains the level of mediocrity; the grammatical construction of the diction is frequently clumsy, and the punctuation (possibly the type-setter's fault) is, in many cases, execrable. But these defects might be passed over if in other respects the book, as a whole, showed either a dispassionate spirit, a just sense of proportion, or even any genuine homiletic purpose. happily, these qualities are conspicuously absent. What stand out most clear in the pages of this publication are the irreverence, the temerity, the anti-Scriptural animus of its writers. One marvels at the self-assurance of a Consistory of women rushing in upon ground where even feminine angels might very well fear to tread. In the forum of ancient Rome on a memorable occasion, so goes the story, the invading barbarians shrank back awe-stricken at sight of the majestic aspect of fourscore Patres Conscripti. But, like the Amalekite who was not afraid to lay hands on the Lord's anointed, these ladies, for a specific object, have not shrunk from defying alike Patristic fathers, Œcumenical Councils, and Revisional Assemblies, nor from defaming that Word which has been a lamp to illumine the race for nigh upon nineteen centuries. faintest semblance do we find here of that reverent spirit of diffidence in which Miles Coverdale put forth his fine translation of the Bible. 'As for the commendation,' he wrote, ' of God's holy Scripture, I would fain magnify it as it is worthy, but I am far insufficient thereto, and therefore I thought it better for me to hold my tongue than, with few words, to praise or commend it.' 'Far insufficient thereto' is not the note of our female Revisers' Committee. What they have done is very much what John Ruskin rebuked among so many

youthful women even a generation ago. They have 'cast all their innate passion of religious spirit into grievous and vain meditation over the meaning of the great Book, of which no syllable was ever yet to be understood but through a deed.'

Yet there is another aspect of this Woman's Bible. insistence with which its compilers pursue the implicit theme of their sex's grievances would, were it not so flippantly expressed, be almost pathetic. Happily, despite the Schreiners, Grands, Cairds, and all the rest of the phalanx after their kind. the great mass of English-speaking women are fairly contented with things as they are. Woman still jogs on under existing male government; her shackles sit lightly upon her. Indeed, as I have said, it is her unconcern and indifference thereto which are the despair of the Woman's Rights agitators and of our lady-commentators. She finds herself to-day in a distinct position of vantage, with most of her past disabilities redressed. But, nevertheless, as the late Professor Huxley has put it in one of his Lay Sermons, 'Nature's old Salique law will not be repealed, and no change of dynasty will be effected.'

Again, this ill-conceived compilation forms a veritable landmark in the devious path of the advanced woman. Its dangers would be small to the adult readers of average apprehension and average knowledge of Christian theology. Where its possibilities of doing mischief might be expected to come in would be among the young of both sexes, particularly immature, half-taught, and impressionable girls, such as have caught up the high-sounding catchwords and crude chimeras of the modern female vanguard. The religious faith of these the book might tend to disturb. And it might give them a plausible pretext for refusing to believe in anything but themselves!

It has been no agreeable task to the present writer to make these remarks on the work of women. But when members of the sex we have been used to style 'the gentler' and 'the softer,' and to deem the more reserved and reverent, elect with insufficient qualifications to band themselves in an assault on the venerated Palladium of our faith, they must not com-

plain of being withstood. If these ladies persist with their literary adventure and proceed to further parts of this Bible commentary, it is to be hoped their zeal and audacity may be more tempered with discretion. It might also be recommended to them to go further afield in comparing their own views of Holy Writ with the views of others better versed in up-to-date Scriptural exposition. For example, they might advantageously refer to the erudite researches of the distinguished French biblicist, M. Halévy,* whose latest études in the book of Genesis constitute a vindication both of the consecutiveness of its narrative and the substantial unity of its text. Similarly, Mr. A. Wood's The Hebrew Monarchy would supply new lights on the remarkable parallelism between so many passages in non-Jewish writers and the text of our Old Testament books; to say nothing of the corresponding evidence of ancient epigraphical monuments in the East. Or, again,-since our lady-revisers evidently mistrust the orthodox exponent of Scripture—an able writer of to-day who has been described as 'almost of the most advanced school of Biblical criticism' might have some chance of being listened to. In his Bible for Home Reading (1896), edited for the use of Jewish parents and children, Mr. A. C. Montefiore evinces a spirit of devout appreciation of the Old Testament Scriptures; and, while recognising that they exhibit varying stages of morality among mankind, insists upon their intrinsic and abiding value. 'The Bible,' he observes, 'tells us about God and goodness. . . . This is what gives it its unique value. . . . Taken as a whole, no book has spoken and still speaks of God and goodness as this book, the Bible. And this is what has made the Bible precious and beloved through so many ages, and to so many different peoples.' † 'The Book which has been the life of English religion and to a great extent of English literature' still remains 'a bond of union to the whole Christian world,'

^{* &#}x27;Recherches Bibliques' in the Revue Semitique, a series of papers carried on to the end of 1896—[See various recent No's. of the Scottish Review].

[†] See summary of Contemporary Literature—Scottish Review, July, 1896, p. 182.

These considerations appear to have been lost sight of or strangely undervalued by the composers of the Woman's Bible.

In fine, those of us who still hold by 'one Catholic and Apostolic Church' and one Bible have good hope for the future of our Faith, the 'newer woman' and the 'newer criticism' notwithstanding. That Joshua or some other scribe may have assisted the great lawgiver in the compilation of the Mosaic books: that the Pentateuch 'may have undergone some recension in after times as by Ezra or others:' that explanatory notes by post-Mosaic hands may have got into the text: that patriarchal traditions were drawn upon and incorporated into the Biblical history: -all or any of these admissions are not incompatible with a belief that the Old Testament contains a real inspired revelation from the Most High. 'History,' said Dean Milman, 'to be true must condescend to speak the language of legend,' and the same may surely hold good of the older Scripture history. But neither the early Biblical narratives, nor the phraseology of the prophets, any more than the utterances of the Exalted Master, are to be 'treated as if they were the cold, phlegmatic, and precisely logical expressions of a German professorial mind.' To interpret them aright needs, besides other gifts, a humility of soul and something of the ' vision and faculty divine.'

'The Hebrew race,' it has been well said, 'their works and their books, are great facts in the history of man: the influence of the mind of this people upon the rest of mankind has been immense and peculiar; and there can be no difficulty in recognising therein the hand of a direct Providence.' In the words of a noble thinker of widest views, the late Master of Balliol, we 'wish to preserve the historical use of Scripture as the continuous witness in all ages of the higher things in the heart of man, as the inspired source of truth and the way to the better life. . . . Every part of Scripture tends to raise us above ourselves—to give us a deeper sense of the feebleness of man, and of the wisdom and power of God.' Nor, in contrast to the tone of our revising ladies' comments, could I select words more fitting to conclude this article than these by the same eloquent and enlightened writer:—

'But the Old Testament has also its peculiar lessons which are not conveyed with equal point or force in the New. The beginnings of human history are themselves a lesson having a freshness as of the early dawn. There are forms of evil against which the Prophets and the prophetical spirit of the Law carry on a warfare, in terms almost too bold for the way of life of modern times. There, more plainly than in any other portion of Scripture, is expressed the antagonism of outward and inward, of ceremonial and moral, of mercy and sacrifice. There all the masks of hypocrisy are rudely torn asunder, in which an unthinking world allows itself to be disguised. There the relations of rich and poor in the sight of God, and their duties towards one another, are most clearly enunciated. There the religion of suffering first appears—"adversity, the blessing" of the Old Testament, as well as of the New. There the sorrows and aspirations of the soul find their deepest expression, and also their consolation.'*

T. P. W.

ART. VI.-SCANDINAVIAN LITERATURE.

The Saga Library. Done into English out of the Icelandic by WILLIAM MORRIS and EIRIKR MAGNUSSON. Vol. I., Howard the Halt, The Banded Men, Hen Thorir; Vol. II., The Story of the Eredwellers; Vols. III., IV., and V., The Heimskringla.

WHEN in 1890 it was announced that Mr. Bernard Quaritch was about to publish, under the editorship of William Morris and Eirikr Magnusson, a more complete series of Icelandic sagas than had hitherto been attempted, the intimation evoked considerable interest and curiosity among lovers of Northern literature. The translation and publication of the sagas had been previously done in a spasmodic manner by independent workers, and though much valuable and genuine work had been done by individuals, e.g., Dasent and Vigfusson, yet the idea of a sustained and organised attempt to collect and re-edit previous

^{*} Essays and Reviews—On the Interpretation of Scripture, by Benjamin Jowett, M.A., Regius Professor of Greek in the University of Oxford. Pp. 416-417.

translations, many of which were buried in publications long ago out of print, to translate those which had not been previously rendered into English, and to publish the whole in an accessible form, was one which appealed to a wide circle of readers and students of Northern literature. The programme which the editors set before themselves, though it did not include nearly all the sagas extant, involved a task of considerable magnitude. The fruits of the years that have elapsed since the intimation of publication have been the five volumes above mentioned, being the first instalment of the fifteen volumes promised.*

The knowledge of the beauties and power of Northern literature is of comparatively recent growth in this country. As early as 1797 a metrical translation of Saemund's Edda, by A. S. Cottle, was published at Bristol, but the book which brought the romance of Norse mythology popularly before the English people was the unscientific but delightfully written Northern Antiquities of P. H. Mallet. This book, translated into English by Bishop Percy, diffused a knowledge of Northern mythology among scholars, and whetted their taste for further information. But no great effort was made in this direction until Sir George Webbe Dasent began his series of translations, which brought home to us some of the finest things in Icelandic literature, presented in an English garb not unworthy of the originals. His translation of the prose Edda, in 1842, was followed in 1858 by his Oxford essay on The Norsemen in Iceland. The latter gave an admirable representation of the life and manners of the sagatime, depicted by one who had caught its spirit. Shortly after Dasent's first volume, came a translation of the Heimskringla, in 1844, from the pen of Samuel Laing. In 1861 and 1866 Dasent's two great masterpieces were published, Burnt Njal and Gisli the Outlaw. About this time it appears that the interest in

^{*}Since this article was written, we have to deplore the death of Mr. William Morris, the chief editor of the series. So far as we are aware, the publishers have not made any announcement whether they intend to continue the series, and if so, who is to take Mr. Morris's place, but there is no doubt it would be a misfortune if the loss of Mr. Morris were to stop the enterprise when it was but well begun, and deprive us of the publication of some of the most interesting of the sagas.

Norse literature must have been stirred up anew, for in 1866 we have the admirable translation of the short saga of Viga Glum, by Sir Edmund Head, and in 1869 the present editors made their first venture in this realm of literature. The Saga of Grettir the Strong was followed in 1870 by the Story of the Volsungs and Niblungs, and in 1875 by Three Northern Love Stories. In 1873 the Orkneyinga saga was published by Dr. Joseph Anderson, and we may just notice in passing the several works of Rasmus B. Anderson. It was left for Gudbrand Vigfusson to give the most critical and comprehensive exposition of the whole literature, first in the Prolegomena to the Sturlunga Saga (1878), and in 1883, more amply, in the monumental work, the Corpus Poeticum Boreale, which reaches the high-water mark of criticism in Norse literature.

The development of Northern literature presents one of the most remarkable phenomena in the literary history of the world, whether we consider its extent and originality, its unique character and history, or its rare artistic and literary merit. The poetry and the sagas of the North gave expression to the highest ideals of the Homeric age of our forefathers. There are embedded in that literature the deepest thoughts and the grandest aspirations of the Teutonic race. Well has the late Vigfusson, one of the most arduous workers in the field, said: 'The men from whom these poems sprung took no small share in the making of England; their blood is in our veins, their speech in our mouths. . . And if there be, as the sage has said, no ingratitude so base as self-forgetfulness, surely we, of all men, should look back to the great Wicking-tide as a momentous era in the world's history and our own.'

'The great Wicking-tide' was a time of restless stir and movement among the Scandinavian races, during which these roving spirits were moulding the destinies of nations, our own amid the rest. The history of Scotland in the 9th and 10th centuries, and that of Orkney and Shetland during a much longer period, is inwrought with that of the Scandinavians, who have contributed in no small degree to the building up of our character, our civilization, and our literature. The courage and daring of the Viking has added grit and energy to our national character, the

freshness and simplicity of his genius has moulded and chastened our literature, and to the blood of the hardy and skilful Norwegian sailor we must trace, in some measure, our great enterprize on the sea.

It was in the second half of the 9th century that the libertyloving spirits in Norway, who brooked not the harsh yoke of Harold Fairhair, were ousted from Norway by his policy of consolidation, and driven to find more peaceful settlements beyond the sea, in the far-distant Iceland, where they founded a unique commonwealth under new conditions of existence, which gave rise to a literature that, in many respects, is without parallel in the world. The great storehouse of the records of this literature, and the most fertile centre of its activity was, no doubt, Iceland. To her people we are indebted for shaping it into a literary vehicle of thought, and for preserving many of its unique monuments in a literary form. But the area of old Northern literature may be said to be much wider, embracing Scandinavia, Orkney, and Shetland, the Western Islands of Scotland, and Isle of Man, all of which have contributed something in scene, or character, or incident, and perhaps some of them in authorship, to Northern literature.

Exhibiting the usual characteristic of other great literatures in finding expression first in poetry, and only in prose at a later period, when the written language had become more mature, Northern literature divides itself into two great sections—(1) the Lays, commonly called the Eddic Poetry, and (2), the Sagas or Prose Histories. There are two so-called Eddas. The term was first applied to a work of Snorri Sturlason's on the Poetic Art, which contained a digest of Northern mythology, but no satisfactory explanation has been given of how it came to be so applied. Edda is not an Icelandic word, occurring only once in Icelandic literature, in the Lay of Thrym, where it means 'grandmother.' 'Edda' meant in the Middle Ages the technical laws of metre. When the Lays were subsequently discovered in 1642, these were erroneously and at haphazard called Saemund the Historian's Edda, from their supposed compiler. The inventors of this dual authorship for the two Eddas may be said to have been Biorn of Scardsa, and Arngrim the Learned, two Icelandic scholars who lived in the beginning of the 17th century.

The poetic Edda is a collection of old Northern poetry composed in different ages and by different unknown authors. It is the chief source of our knowledge of the early poetry of the peoples of the North. The great mass of Northern poetry is epic and lyric in form, and much of it is mystical in character. Its earliest examples take the form of saws and proverbs of great pith and wisdom, others deal with mythological subjects, giving an anthropological account of creation, and attempting to explain the spark of divinity in man. mythic poems shew great range and power of thought in their conceptions, and in them is elaborated that wonderful system of mythology, which, though rude in many respects, shews such a strong grasp of the principles and realities of life. Everywhere they are characterised by that robustness and vigour of thought which marks the Scandinavian genius. There is throughout a nervous energy of word-painting, an intellectual restraint, which intensifies the effect, like the speech of Hilding in Frithiof's saga, who spake in words of wisdom-deep, short, pithy pleas-that rang like strokes of swords. The bold and original conceptions, and the artistic method in which they are fashioned and moulded, make these creations permanent part of the world's literature. The great variety of character-the serious and the sublime-the satirical and the comic-shews the wealth and versatility of genius with which our Scandinavian forefathers were endowed.

In the quasi-historic poems and ballads we find the germs of the stories of many of the traditional heroes round whom the Teutonic races centred their greatest ideals. The chief theme which has fascinated the minds of Northern poets is the story of Sigurd, the champion of the Volsungs, and his ill-fated descendants. The individual poems of this series differ from one another in style, composition, and antiquity. In the earlier, the mythical portions are highly developed, and the archaic, didactic, style very marked. In the later, the direct dramatic fervour makes the play of human interest, and the surging of human passion, all paramount. The story, with its trail of hereditary curse, contains the elements of awful tragedy, where the hand of

fate seems to probe the depths of human misery, and to stir up the most profound human passions.

Into the plausible, interesting, and still debateable theory of the western origin of these poems, so ably advocated by Vigfusson, we cannot enter, but must pass on to the second section of this literature, which is more immediately under review. The saga or prose tale was the distinctive product of Iceland. was a form that suited the genius of the people no less than the conditions of life in the island. There was no music or dancing in the old time, but in a climate necessitating long periods of enforced leisure, it was the custom in the long winter evenings for the whole family to gather in the common room, and while the good man mended his farm-implements or sharpened up his weapons, and the good wife sat at her spinningwheel, they listened to some skilful Skald reciting the adventures of a great local or national hero. Such, too, was the practice at the long Yule feast in the dead of winter, and at the annual Althings-the Parliament and Court of Justice of the Icelanders. These gatherings, like the Isthmian games of Greece, fostered the ideas of unity and brotherhood among a people apt to scatter into family and district groups, whose union was thus strengthened and promoted by their pride in the common heritage of noble deeds, which were thus periodically retailed, and ultimately took permanent shape in the form of a saga.

The Icelandic sagas chronicle the events that took place in the heroic age of Iceland—that brief period of stir and change from 890 to 1030, succeeding the settlement of the island. It was an age of enterprise and great endeavour, when both at home and abroad the heroes of the race, now one and now another, were performing deeds of derring-do that stirred the hearts of men. The sagas gave expression to the innermost heart of that restless age, within which lived Njal and Gunnar, and Gisli, Grettir, Snorri, Scapti, Kiartan, and all the other warriors and law-men who were the history-makers of Iceland. To this succeeded the story-telling age, when the sagas lived on the lips and in the hearts of the people, and in the 12th and 13th centuries they received their final and definite literary form at the hands of the scribes on whom depended the choice of diction, the

literary power and grace, imparted to the narrative. The nameless authors who clothed Njala or Gisli's saga in its present garb, with all the graces of diction, symmetry and balance of construction, must have been writers of no mean genius.

As a form of composition, the saga is a kind of prose epic, governed by its own literary laws, marked by recurring set phrases, and following a regular scheme of literary workmanship. The whole conception, centring round a single figure or a group of characters, is highly artistic and well-balanced. The story is realistic, full of dramatic incident, uninterrupted by scenic descriptions or character analysis. It was the Sagaman's greatest endeavour to make his characters live. The tale is told with so much circumstantiality that the listener instinctively feels that it is a narrative of actual facts that the Scald is reciting. The saga is, therefore, one of the purest forms of epic narrative.

Many Icelanders were famous for their recitation of these They practised it at home and at the courts of foreign The gift was highly prized. The Skald must repeat the tale as truthfully and fairly as he had received it. Any abuse of the sacred gift was bitterly resented by the company and sometimes swiftly avenged. Thus, in the Orkneyinga Saga, after the feast in the Hall of Sigurd, Earl of Orkney, given just before the Earl sailed for the battle of Clontarf-the great battle of the faiths-Gunnar Lambi's son, in telling of the burning of Nial, unfairly represents that Scarpheddin, Nial's son, had wept. Thereupon, Kari, the friend of Njal, draws his sword and smites off Gunnar's head, and the Earl is bespattered with his blood. Yet from their innate love of fairness and resentment at Gunnar's breach of Scaldic etiquette, the men around back up the slaver, and call shame on the perverter of the truth. On the other hand, we have a pretty picture in the Hawksbok of a reward given for a well told tale. A sailor tells his fellows the story of King Vicar's life as they bivouac beside his home, and the grateful ghost of the king appears to the storyteller, and bids him take the treasures of his grave for his fee.

The Sagas may be roughly divided into three groups:—(1). The Icelandic Sagas, which deal with life and character in Iceland. (2). The Historic Sagas, e.g., Heimskringla, Orkneyinga,

etc. (3). The Mythical or Romantic Sagas, e.g., The Volsung and Frithiof's Sagas. Besides these there are many miscellaneous stories and biographies difficult to classify.

The Icelandic Sagas are most interesting from a purely literary point of view. The five great Icelandic Sagas, Njala, Gretla, Laxdaela, the Eyrbyggia and Egil's Saga, which are works of pre-eminent literary merit, are all found in the prospectus of the series now under review. But the Eyrbyggia alone has yet been published.

Njal's Saga is called the Saga of Law, for Njal was the greatest lawyer of his day, and the inheritor of the traditions of other great lawyers. The pictures of the scenes at the Althing during the decisions of the great lawsuits which are here narrated, throw a flood of light upon the history of Icelandic law, and, at the same time afford most delightful examples of the keen and sagacious intellect of the people. The Saga illustrates most remarkably the great reverence of a primitive community for the majesty of the law, even when law was unwritten, and simply embodied in the oral traditions of men reputed for subtlety and learning. It was the pride and delight of every man to preserve the stream of justice untainted, and their deep seated reverence for their ideal, and their ready acquiescence in authority, is worthy of all imitation. For truthfulness and beauty, for literary grace of expression, for symmetry and balance of plot, for sharp clear delineation of character, and above all for the pathos and tragedy of the whole, Njala stands alone, even amid the Sagas. The fascination of its pages is irresistible, but the heart cries out, 'Oh, the pity of it,' as we follow those heroes, Njal, the wise hearted, patient man, Gunnar, the peerless man of honour, rectitude and courage, Scarpheddin, the bold impetuous warrior, and see them unavailingly, but so sagaciously and courageously striving to beat off the arm of fate, conscious all the time that destiny is drawing its meshes closer and closer, until Gunnar dies at the hands of his enemies in his own house, and Njal perishes amid the burning ashes of his homestead, along with his devoted wife and his whole family of brave sons.

The Saga of Grettir the Strong illustrates the Icelandic proverb, 'Good parts and good luck are very different things.'

Grettir was reputed the strongest man in Iceland, and his many adventures form the theme of the story, his strange fight with Glam, the ghost, his robbing of the home of Karr the old, and his capture of the good short sword that went with him all his life, his outlawry and many years' wanderings, his dwelling among the trolls, and his famous fight and death on the lonely island of Drangey in the Arctic Sea. There are many points of interest about the Saga, such as, the Æschylean character of the hero, the reminiscences of traditions common both to the Norwegian and the Anglo-Saxon branches of the race, the semi-supernatural episodes, illustrating the old belief of the people, and the touching examples of brotherly and maternal love shown to Grettir.

The Eyrbyggia Saga, or the Story of the Eredwellers, is the only one of the great Icelandic Sagas that has yet been published in the series. So far as we can judge from the volumes already published, the series will prove to be a most valuable one, and will form such another landmark in the history of the development of Northern literature as the Corpus Poeticum Boreale did. The work is being done with great care and painstaking research, and the reputation of the authors ought to be a guarantee that the literary aspects of these works will not be lost sight of. But we would venture to enter a mild protest as to the style adopted in the translations. The stories are for the most part told concisely and well. But the editors have attempted to give them a smack of archaism by employing out of the way expressions, and a diction and construction that are unknown to the best English literature. They have attempted to attain to the realism of the Saga teller, but instead of realising the living touch of genius with which he represented his characters as clothed with flesh and spirit, they have too often attained only to the dead formalism of the mummy, or the hard set lines of the fossil. The result unfortunately is that the ordinary reader cannot peruse these translations with pleasure, as he is hampered by the use of these archaisms, which gives the style a stilted appearance, and causes it to lack the fluency and pliancy of our noble English speech. Some of the phrases and expressions, indeed, are so faulty as to be hardly worthy to be called English; they are, sometimes, scarcely intelligible. It is a great

mistake to enshroud these classic works of the Icelandic tongue in anything but classic English.

In many respects the story of the Eredwellers is a most interesting and characteristic Saga. It has been called a string of gems, and the Sagaman himself has pointed out its tripartite character, by calling it the story of the Thornessings, the Eredwellers, and the Swanfirthers. It opens with a delightful description of the settlement of Broadfirth by Thorolf Mostbeard, the friend of Thor, and Biorn the Easterner, son of Ketil Flatneb, who had been outlawed by Harold Fairhair for usurping the lordship of the lands he had been sent to subdue for the king. Many striking glimpses of old world society are revealed in the story, such as the description of Geirrid's Hall, built athwart the highway, wherein was a table always spread, so that whosoever passed through, might eat. The Saga is famous for its description of Thor's temple, and the heathen cult of that god. The battle of Thorness Thing resulted from the overbearing spirit of the Kiallekings, who would not suffer that Thorstein Codbiter's field should be reckoned holier than any other, although his grandfather Thorolf had laid it down that no person, unwashed, should turn his eyes thither, and none should defile the place with blood. Moreover, Thorolf had erected a temple on Thorness. Within the doors stood the pillars of Thor's High Seat, and the god's nails reverently brought by Thorolf from Norway, along with some of the mould of Thor's old temple there. On a stall in the inmost house of the temple, made in the fashion of an altar, with the gods set round about, lay a ring without a join, weighing 20 ounces, which the chief wore on his arm at all man motes, and on which men swore oaths. This is a variation, and perhaps a later development of the rude mythological symbol called Bragi's Stone, upon which, as we read in many of the Sagas, mighty vows for the performance of doughty deeds were taken. So in this same Saga, we read, that the oaths of Arnkel and eleven men upon the doom ring, that Geirrid had not witch-ridden Gunnlaug brought to naught the case of Thorbiorn and Snorri, so that they gat much shame therefrom. On the altar of Thorolf's temple stood the blood sprinkling rod, and the bowl filled with the blood of sacrifices. It would even seem

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as if human sacrifices were made in this temple, for the Sagaman relates that there could be seen in his day the doom ring, where men were doomed to the sacrifice, and within the ring the stone of Thor, over which men were broken who were sacrificed. It is only in the closing chapters of the Saga, that we get an account of the introduction of Christianity into Iceland by Gizur, the White, and Hialti, his son-in-law. All men in Iceland were christened, and the Christian faith was made law at the Althing. It was Snorri the Priest who converted the men of Westfirth, the scene of this Saga, and he it was who built the famous church at Holyfell, near the site of Thorolf's temple of Thor. Men's desire for building churches was whetted by the curious promise that a man would have welcome place for as many men in heaven, as his church on earth could contain. The natural consequence was that so many churches were built that sufficient priests could not be got to serve in them.

This Saga must have been written by a man well versed in folk-lore, and whose mind was instinctively attracted by the weird tales of ghosts and portents that abounded in the countryside. The shepherd of Thorstein Codbiter has a foretoken of the drowning of Codbiter and his crew, when he sees the side of Holyfell open and hears the dwellers of the other world welcoming them to the realms of death. We are familiar enough with the character of Katla, the witch who throws a glamour over the eyes of her visitors so that her son, whose blood they seek, is turned into a goat, a bear or a rock. In the death and burial of Thorolf Haltfoot, we have a typical example of the significant belief of the heathen that the spirit of an evil man was turned into a troll after death and sent to work harm among his erstwhile kindred and friends. The face of the corpse is so baneful and loathsome that Arnkel will not look upon it before the lvkewake. The oxen that draw the corpse founder with its weight, and then go mad and break away. The cattle that go near his house go mad and die; the very fowls flying over it fall dead; the herdsman is found 'cold, blue, and every bone of him broken.' The hall is troll-ridden, and terror pervades the whole countryside, until the body is disinterred and buried deep in a headland, across which a wall is built landwards. No man dare refuse to help at such a burial, even though it be that of his deadliest enemy. The incidents of this haunting are similar in many points to the famous contest of Grettir the Strong with Glam the Ghost, which, again, supplies or suggests the link between the Norse version of the superstition, and that brought over to England by the Anglo-Saxons in their poem of Beowulf. The sequel of the haunting, too, is interesting, for the sagaman has used it to produce an admirable literary effect. Years after Thorolf's burial, when Arnkel, his son—the good man of whom the troll stands in awe-is dead, the ghost of Thorolf again troubles the men of Ulfarsfell until his body is burnt to ashes on the strand. Then the fiendish spirit of the troll is transferred to a cow, which licks the stones where Thorolf's bale-fire had been litten. She bears a calf, which grows up to be the famous bull, Glossy, supposed to be a troll. Glossy gores Thorod, his master, to death, and the fight gives rise to one of the most picturesque incidents in the story. The moral of the portents and wonders that take place at Frodis Water on Thorgunna's death seems to be that the evils were due to the covetousness of the good-wife, Thurid, who cast her eyes upon the rich bedhangings of Thorgunna, and by her blandishments persuaded her husband not to burn them. The shower of blood, and the moon of weird that shines through the walls of the house, are portents of a unique kind, which betoken the death of Thorir Wooden-leg, his shepherds and carles. The sagaman displays a profound faith in the credulity of his hearers that is supremely attractive in its simplicity, when he tells, in serious guise, of Thorod Scatcatcher and his crew, who had been drowned at sea, returning nightly to sit at their own burial cell, until a door-doom is constituted against them by Kiartan. The scene of the expulsion of the ghosts is inimitably realistic, and surely never were the forms of human process glorified more highly, or their power more triumphant, than when each ghost, as the verdict of the doordoom is given, and his doom pronounced, solemnly rises from his place at the fire, and departs by the door before which the Court was not fenced. Then when the priest bore hallowed water through the house, and sang all the hours and the mass with solemnity, the hauntings and ghost-walkings henceforth cease.

The curious blending of Christian rites and heathen superstition did not strike the mind of the saga-teller as at all incongruous.

In an interpolated chapter, having comparatively little to do with the thread of the story, the saga-man introduces Eric the Red, the discoverer of Greenland, and tells how Eric, having to flee from Iceland for the slaughter of Thorgest's sons, sailed north and found his way to Greenland. On his first voyage, which is reckoned as being fourteen winters before Christ's faith was made law in Iceland (i.e., 986), he stayed three winters, and then returned to Iceland before finally returning to settle in Greenland. Later in the Saga, it is also related that the sons of Thorbrand fled to Greenland, where Thorleif Kimlie died in good old age, after giving his name to Kimlie's bay in Greenland, while Snorri fell in battle with the Skaerlings in Vineland the Good, as the Norsemen called the land they had discovered across the Western Seas, and which we now call America.

The second part of the Saga opens with an incident relating to those curious beings called Baresarks, who were not of the fashion of men when they were wroth, but went mad like dogs, and feared neither fire nor steel. But such men as were skin changers became void of might when the Baresark fury fell from them. The victorious Eric of Sweden had sent two Baresarks as a present to Eric of Norway, who in turn transferred them to Vermund, the Slender, who took them out to Iceland, and when they became too troublesome, he handed them them over to his brother Stir. One of them presumptuously aspired to the hand of Asdis, Stir's daughter, and he treacherously slew them both by burning them alive in his hot bath.

In the story of the outlawry of Biorn the Broadwickers' Champion, we get a glimpse of the famous company of Jomsburg Vikings, who were for a long time the scourge of the Danish Seas. When Biorn slew the sons of Thorir Wooden-leg, he went South and joined the Jomsburg band, when the famous Palnatoki was captain, and he was reckoned by him a champion. Biorn was present at the battle of Fyrisfield, giving aid to Styrbiorn, and had to flee into the woods with the other Jomsburgers. Biorn's second and voluntary exile from Iceland, lest he should fall a victim to the charms of the good wife of Frodis water, enables

the Sagaman to work up an incident of much beauty, full of many fine touches of romance. When Gudleif, who was a great sea farer, is returning from a voyage to Dublin, late in the days of Olaf the Saint, he is driven upon a land of which he knew naught. Here he is rescued from the hands of the barbarous inhabitants by a chief who talks Icelandic, and betrays himself to be none other than Biorn, the Broadwickers' Champion, by his enquiries for his friend the good wife of Fordis water and for his enemy Snorri the Priest, her brother. The mystery and romance of the discovery of the grey-headed old man in this far off, unknown country, is intensified by the suggestion that, for the honour of a Northman, Biorn has voluntarily exiled himself because he could not restrain his love for a woman whom he might never seek in marriage.

Part of the tragedy of the Saga arises out of the sport of Ball Play in Playhall Meads, just as the catastrophe in Gisli's Saga starts from the Ball Play under Thorgrim's howe. There is a most graphic power of word painting in the incidents of the attempt of Egil the Strong to slay Biorn by hiding in the valley, and then coming up under cover of the fire smoke, while his treacherous design is only frustrated by his stumble upon his tasselled shoe tie, which he wore according to the custom of the time. Another glimpse of primitive custom is given in consequence of Egil's death, for it was the law that whoever slew a thrall should take home his weregild to his master, and must begin his journey before the third sun after the slaving, otherwise a blood suit lay against the slayer. So the Broadwickers fare to Karstead to carry the thrall's weregild, gathering strength from the houses of their friends as they pass, until the two parties of the countryside are matched against one another. They fasten a purse of twelve ounces of silver to the door-post and name witnesses thereto. Through the rashness of Thorbrand's sons, who are eager to pay off old scores, this leads to the great battle of Swanfirth between the forces of Snorri, the priest of Holyfell, and Steinthor of Ere. The fight is remarkable for a notice of the curious ceremony performed by Steinthor, who, according to ancient custom, for his luck, cast the first spear clean over the head of Snorri's folk, although, in this case, the

spear sought out a mark and put Mar out of the fight. Another great fight at Swordfirth, told with all the graphic power and love of detail familiar in the Sagas, winds up the story so far as the Eredwellers are concerned.

The Eyrbyggia affords a good example of the character of the Icelandic Sagas, which present a vigorous and truthful picture of the domestic, social and political life in Iceland in the ninth and tenth centuries. The life depicted is very stern and very earnest. Life and death lie very close together, and the Icelandic genius is thereby inclined towards the tragic vein. The Northman was a great fatalist, -so much so that the stories of many of the Sagas entwine themselves round the thread of destiny of a man or a family, foredoomed from the beginning. The Saga man takes a peculiar delight in shewing how the hero is checkmated at every point of escape, priding himself upon his skill in forging the links of the chain that binds the victim down to his doom, and almost exulting as he finally launches him upon the fatal path of death. Thus in the Saga of Grettir the Strong, it is the working of the curse of Glam, the ghost, that gradually drags the strong man to his fate. Ever after the spell of ill-luck is cast over him by the vampire is he a luckless man, and never can he free himself from that character, or rid himself from the glare of the ghost's eyes that haunt him to his grave. So too the peerless Gunnar, though he knows that the restless malignity of his wife will work his doom, yet he patiently bears with her, and makes numberless atonements for the slaughters she instigates. Yet this is how she exults over hastening his death when driven to his last extremity by the attack of Gizur the White and Geir the priest,- 'Gunnar turns to Hallgerda, his wife, "give me two locks of thy hair, ye two, my mother and thou, and twist them together into a bowstring for me.' "Does aught lie on it," says she. "My life lies on it, for they will never come to close quarters with me if I can keep them off with my bow." "Well," she says, "now I will call to mind that slap on the face which thou gavest me, and I care never a whit whether thou holdest out a long while or a short." So fell Gunnar, the peerless, resigned to his fate. As Gisli the outlaw said, when the chattering of Auda, his wife, and Asgerda

his sister-in-law, started the avalanche of catastrophe, that was to overwhelm him and his house, 'when things are once doomed, some one must utter the words that seem to bring them about,' or as the Anglo-Saxon proverb expressed it, 'what is to be goes ever as it must.' Yet the cloud of fatalism which overshadowed the Norseman did not damp his ardour or unnerve his arm. On the contrary, it spurred him on to meet with a brave heart the fate which he himself is fully persuaded nothing can avert, for by courage and activity alone can he win the one thing which stands firm amid the mutability of all earthly things—the well earned fame of noble deeds. Thus their proverb said, 'Goods perish, friends perish, a man himself perishes, but fame never dies to him that hath won it worthily.' There is nothing that a Northman is more solicitous of than his reputation. Nothing can make him do a cowardly act or a deed that strikes against his peculiar code of honour. In scenes, of what we would term license, there is a line which the Northman never passes, and which none gives his fellow the credit of contemplating the possibility of overstepping, although they are restrained by nothing but the unwritten law of custom and honour. Thus, in all their feuds, there was a great gulf fixed between honourable slaughter in pursuance of a blood feud, and the dastardly crime of murder. It was murder to slay a man unawares and without proclaiming the deed. It was honourable slaughter to attack a man, to call upon him to take his weapons to defend himself, and when he was slain, either to leave the weapon in the wound or to proclaim the deed to his next of kin. Even to leave the weapon in the wound was called secret manslaughter, and in early days, the duty of avenging the deed fell to him who extracted the weapon. When Vestein was slain in his bed by Thorgrim, in Gisli's Saga, Thord the thrall is afraid to take out the spear, and the blood feud falls to Gisli, who extracts it and casts it all bloody into a chest till the time comes when it will be again used in the sacred work of vengeance. Palnatoki, the founder of the Jomsburg Vikings, did not shirk from owning the arrow which had been the death of Harold Bluetooth, though he stood in the midst of all the Court of King Sweyn, his son.

War and love were two of the master passions of the North-

men. The blood-feuds and the lawsuits for slaughter usually constitute the links by which the incidents of a saga are threaded together. To the Northman war was a sacred, a holy thing, an appeal to the God of Battle, who ever gave victory to whom he would. Cheerfully did he meet his fate in battle, for it was a sign that he had been selected by the Valkyries, Odin's corpse choosers, to fill a place at the festive board of Valhalla. every day life, however, they were a hard working frugal people, and amid the brawl and broil of bloodshed, ever and anon sweet pictures of domestic peace burst upon the view, rare examples of deep and long tried affection, brotherly love and devoted service, scenes of pastoral quiet and patriarchal simplicity, for the good man cuts his hay and herds his sheep as calmly as if he were quite unaware that the avenger of blood may be lurking in the next thicket. In such a state of society it is little wonder that the Northmen should reverence, nay even make a fetish of their weapons, and many are the tales of magic weapons we read of treasured as sacred heirlooms in a family. Such was the great Spearhead, wrought with runes, fashioned out of Kol's wondrous sword, that not only served Gisli all his outlaw life, but which we read of 250 years afterwards in the Sturlunga Saga, as being wielded deftly and well by Sturla Sigvatson. The huge axe of Skarpheddin, Njal's tall son, was well christened the ogress of war, and Gunnar had a magic bill wrought with seething spells, in which something sang loudly, when it was about to slay a man.

Superstition played a large part in the life of the characters of the Sagas, but the fruitful points of investigation that suggest themselves are too numerous to be prosecuted here. It is common for the man who is 'fey' to see his own fetish, or dream symbolically of his own death. The two dream wives of Gisli go with him for years, and he knows his end is near when the evil wife appears to him persistently. In Gisli's saga occurs the finest description of a Viking burial, when Vestein is laid in his warship, the vessel steadied amidships with a mighty stone, the Hell-shoon bound on his feet by the priest to carry him over the rough road that leads to Valhalla. They leave the Sea-King to his last sleep with the farewell formula, 'I know naught

of binding Hell-shoon on, if these loosen.' There is also a loving touch of imagination about the story that no snow settled on the south side of Thorgrim's howe, because he was so dear to Frey the Sun god, that he would suffer nothing so cold to come between them.

The many other interesting questions raised and the aspects of life revealed by the Sagas, cannot be discussed here, but the completion of the present series will afford an easy and accessible means of prosecuting this most fascinating study of a literature which appeals so powerfully to us in its numberless relations with our own country and institutions. In many respects it takes rank with the best literature of the world, and it has been but neglected in the past. Its mythology is far less corrupt than that of Greek and Rome, and its characters are not less grand and noble. Take for example Grettir the Strong,-a man cast in the mould of a hero, a type of the unselfish, singlehearted fate-defying hero, around whom the genius of the Sagaman has thrown something of the tragic grandeur that marks the characters of Æschylus and Sophocles, the high strung human mind matched in unavailing conflict against the irresistible forces of divinity. It is a literature where real life is strikingly pourtrayed, where the characters are boldly yet deliberately drawn, where the thoughts and emotions of men and women glow fresh on every page. The passions of the Northmen were fierce and strong no doubt; they were revengeful and unrelenting, but these characteristics did not choke out the lowlier and lovelier emotions that are the crown and joy of every day life. Witness the lifelong wedded bliss of Njal and Berthora. 'I was given young to my husband,' she says, as she refused the offer of his foes to allow her alone to escape from his burning homestead, 'and then I promised to live and die with him.' Consider Auda's devotion to Gisli, the hunted outlaw, the loves and woes of Gudrun, who loved most of all women in the world, or the passionate attachment of Frithiof and Ingebiorg, and on the other hand, the tragedy of the wasted life of the Gudrun of the Laxdaela, who wailed out in her old age about the love of her girlhood, 'The man I loved best, I treated worst.' Or take their ideal of friendship, strong as iron, and as lasting as life, and look

at the numberless concrete examples pictured in the Sagas, the loving brotherhood of Vagn the young stripling and Bui the Stout, the wrinkled old warrior, of Njal and Gunnar. 'Bare is back without brother behind it,' is a noble precept, which was one of the keynotes of the Northman's life. Truly the Sagas are well worthy of study, for they are permanent, powerful, and beautiful pieces of literature.

DAVID ANDERSON.

ART. VII.—GREEK ART IN ASIA.

- Sassanian Architecture. By R. PHENE' SPIERS. Transactions of Royal Institute of British Architects. 1891.
- (2) The Great Mosque of the Omeiyades, Damascus. By R. PHENE' SPIERS. Transactions of Royal Institute of British Architects. 1896.
- (3) The Holy Places of Jerusalem. By T. HAYTER LEWIS. London. 1888.

ERODOTUS was no doubt right in saying that the Greeks invented nothing, for when they appeared first on the page of history the civilisations of Babylonia, Egypt, and Syria, were already more than two thousand years old, and on these civilisations that of Greece was founded. Oriental nation ever attained to the mastery of design which characterises Greek sculpture, and Asia in turn came under the influence of an art which surpassed that of all other races. It is perhaps hardly recognised how widespread and enduring was this influence, and how much was owed by Persians, Indians, Syrians, and other Asiatics, down to the Arabs and Crusaders, to the genius of Greece and to the perfection of her art. Questions of the history of Architecture, and of the dates to which various famous buildings in Western Asia are to be ascribed, are still the subject of controversy, on account of the imperfect manner in which the history of the Greek influence has been traced. The Byzantine and the Saracenic styles arose out of the interaction of Greek and Oriental ideas, and the Jews were not less subject than others to the subtle influence of Greece. It may be interesting therefore to trace briefly, both the origin of Greek civilisation, and the natural growth of later art from the classic models of Greece.

The influence of Egypt and of Assyria has long been recognised as lying at the base of Greek architecture and art. Ionic volute was known in Assyria as early at least as the seventh century B.C., and many figures of Greek mythologythe sphynx, the griffon, the winged horse, and the chimæra, were represented by Assyrian artists at an early period, The Greek honeysuckle descended from the Assyrian samullu or sacred tree, and Greek legends found their prototypes in Assyrian tablets. Egypt was known to the Greeks of Asia Minor as early as the fourteenth century, B.C., and its temples no doubt suggested many ideas to Greek builders. But there was also a third almost distinct civilisation in more immediate contact with Ionia and Greece, to which the Arvan tribes of the Ægean seem to have been yet more deeply indebted, namely, that of the Semitic and Mongolic tribes of Syria and Asia Minor, which is already traced to the seventeenth century B.C., and probably six centuries earlier.

It was to the Syrians that Greece owed not only its alphabet, but also the more ancient syllabary which had been used earlier at Troy and in Cyprus. The art of Troy and of Mycenæ, as now known through actual recovery of art objects dating as early as 1500 B.C., bears less resemblance to the stiff conventional forms of Egypt, and to the bas-reliefs of Nineveh, than to early Phœnician art, and to the bolder reliefs of monuments hewn in basalt in Asia Minor, and in North Syria. The description which we possess of royal presents, sent from Armenia to Egypt about 1450 B.C., recalls in a most remarkable manner the style and material of those treasures which Dr. Schliemann ascribes to Greeks at Mycenæ and at Troy. The early statues recently unearthed at Athens, some of which still bear traces of the paint which once covered them, closely resemble the Cyprian statues of the fourth and fifth centuries,

B.C., which are now known to be Greek on account of their accompanying texts, but which-until these texts written in syllabic character had been read-were at first supposed to be Phoenician, on account of their style. The remarkable art of Lycia, representing the native work of the fifth century, B.C., is not indeed Greek, though due to an Aryan race. It also shews a connection with the more ancient styles of Assyria and of Syria, and marks a transition between the earlier rude forms of Asiatic sculpture and the perfect art of the best Greek age. The use of colour in sculpture was not peculiar to Egypt, for Assyrian bas-reliefs were also painted, as were Phoenician statues, and Lycian tombs. The Greeks indeed were the first to rely on the effect of form and of shadow alone, while Asiatics preferred the effects obtained from the glow of precious metals, and from the natural colour of various stones-a taste which continued in all later times to characterise Oriental art. The history of ceramics is the same, for while in the earliest ages Greece looked to Asia for her models, she learned in time far to surpass her teachers. Egypt and Syria had brought this art to great perfection long before it was studied in Greece, and the chased work of Sidonian bowls was famous when the Homeric poems were penned. But in later times the figures on Phoenician pottery, seals, and metal work, remain ill-formed and conventional, while Greece went straight to nature for models, and brought fresh life into an art which, among Assyrians and Egyptians, was shackled by the traditions of a remote past.

It was not until the conquests of Alexander had brought Greek letters, literature, and philosophy, to Asia and to Egypt, that Oriental art began to copy that of Greece. Before that conquest the western Orientals, though influencing each other, maintained an art quite distinct from the new methods of Eastern Europe. Even as late as 250 B.C., the Phoenicians looked to Egypt rather than to Greece for models, and Babylonia and Persia continued to follow the methods of ancient Assyria. But after Alexander's time we trace, even as far as India, the influence of Macedonian conquest in Bactrian coins, and probably in Buddhist architecture, while the Arsacidæ

were yet more closely in connection with Greek civilisation in Persia. The Iouian alphabet spread to Assyria, Commagene, Syria, and Egypt; and Greek became the common tongue of merchants and rulers all over Western Asia, and so continued dominant, under Romans and Byzantines, until the Arab conquest in the 7th century A.D., or for a period of a thousand years.

Fettered as they were by earlier canons of art, the Orientals never attained to the truth and beauty of classic style. figures continued, even when most clearly imitative of Greek sculpture, to be stiff and ill-proportioned; the ornamentation was never purely structural as in Greece, and was often overloaded and incongruous. The love of colour survived, and the barbarian use of precious metals. A strange mixture of classic and archaic ideas marks the art of Phœnicia. Commagene, and Persia, after the 3rd century B.C. Perhaps the most remarkable of such remains are the sarcophagi found recently at Sidon, on one of which a battle of Greeks and Persians is sculptured. But, superior as these are to the Greek art of Cyprus, and to the later work at Palmyra and elsewhere, they are still very inferior to the best Greek art, while the use of colour is not abandoned by the Sidonians even at this late period.

Another remarkable instance of Greek influence is found in the sculptures at Tell Nimrûd, on the upper Euphrates, representing the palace of the half-Greek kings of Commagene, shortly before the Roman conquest, by Pompey. The giant figures of kings and gods seated on the terrace beneath this high conical mound, and the reliefs representing Persian gods, accompanied by Greek inscriptions, are singularly hybrid in character, combining Greek ideas with the stiffer and more ornate forms of Persian art, derived by the Achemeneans from Babylonia and Assyria. The figures are stumpy and ill-drawn, the dress is partly classic, partly Oriental. The artist has trusted for effect rather to the gigantic size of his statues, which rivals that of Egyptian figures, than to any just idea of copying Nature.

At the famous palace of El Hadr, south of Mosul and west

of the Tigris, which dates about 200 A.D., we find Greek cornices with acanthus leaves, and other classic details, among which are sculptured, on a narrow frieze, figures of winged lions, eagles, and solar-rayed heads, which remind us rather of Persian or Assyrian than of Greek art. At Diarbekr the so-called Palace of Tigranes appears to have been rebuilt, from more ancient materials, by the Arabs, and presents semi-classic pillars and cornices, with pointed arches and Cufic texts. The pillars are remarkable for the ornamentation of their shafts with diapered patterns, indicating the love of tracery which distinguishes the later Byzantine style, and which has here, much earlier, invaded the borrowed art of Greco-Persian or Greco-Armenian builders.

Although the origin of coinage is found in Babylonia and Persia, and in Lydia earlier than in Greece, the development of the art was due to Greeks, who carried it to India and even The Seleucid Greeks in Syria are known to us only by their coins, for all their buildings seem to have perished. These often rival Greek coins in beauty, although steadily deteriorating from the standard of art represented by the beautiful gold pieces of Alexander the Great. The native Hasmonean kings in Palestine-successors of Judas Maccabæus -adopted Greek models for their coinage about 90 B.C., and inscribed them in Hebrew and Greek; but the rough and poor character of their art may be contrasted with that of their Greek masters. Coinage in Asia and in Byzantium continued to lose in truth of form and boldness of relief, until we reach the greatest degradation, and approach the stiff and childish attempts of the early Venetian gold pieces.

Jews and Phoenicians and Palmyrenes were equally bad copyists of Greek art from the 2nd century B.C. down to the 3rd century A.D., after which native art dies out, to be replaced by that of Byzantium. The earliest dated specimen of Greco-Syrian architecture is the famous palace of Hyrcanus in Gilead, dating from 176 B.C., and still standing in ruins. We here find enormous blocks of masonry, 8 feet high, well hewn, and drafted round the edge of the stone, in imitation of the earlier masonry of the Acropolis at Athens. This finish, which

was used by Herod the Great at Jerusalem, by the later Phœnicians, by the Romans, the Arabs, and the Crusaders alike, was once thought to be of Phœnician origin, but it never has been shown to occur in Western Asia before the Greek conquest, and almost invariably accompanies imitations of classic art, as shewn by pillars and cornices. Such cornices occur in the outer court of the palace of Hyrcanus, but the building is not purely Greek, the roof having once been supported by thick pillars, of which the capitals are very peculiar, and more like the later Egyptian style than anything Greek. In Phœnicia and in Cyprus similar remains, with Doric pillars and drafted stones, belong to the same period; and it is now generally acknowledged that the mighty ramparts of the Jerusalem and Hebron sacred enclosures are to be attributed to Herod the Great, presenting the same drafted masonry, with boldly corbelled cornices and projecting buttresses. Herod's temple at Siah, in Bashan, dedicated to the Arab sun god, Aumo, is yet more indicative of style; for, while the pillars are classic, the bust of the deity presents the same feeble caricature of classic sculpture which is noticeable in Commagene and at Palmyra, while the vine is carved round the great gate as at Jerusalem, where however it was made of gold, and nailed to beams over the entry.

The Roman conquest did not greatly affect Asiatic art, which continued to be semi-Greek; and even Romans wrote their mortuary inscriptions in Greek in Syria. The very remarkable monuments in the Kidron Valley, east of Jerusalem, and at Petra, were hewn after the time of Pompey, and the tomb of the kings of Adiabene, north of Jerusalem, belongs to the first century a.D. In these well-preserved examples the same imitative style is found, with Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian pillars, but in some cases with friezes of grapes and other non-classic designs, and peculiar cupolas unlike anything Greek or Roman, and with Hebrew inscriptions, which serve to indicate the date of the buildings. It has often been remarked that these buildings, so far as they are classic, are never Roman but always Greek in character. The great building age of Rome had not yet commenced in Nero's time, and their art

owed quite as much to Greece as to the Etruscans, who themselves, at an earlier period, had brought their art and alphabet from Asia Minor.

The second and third centuries of the Christian era were great building ages in Asia Minor and Syria, especially under the Antonines. Baalbek and Gerasa are among the most famous ruins of this period and the temples of Palmyra date from the time of Zenobia. At Baalbek, where the masonry is even larger than that of the Herodians, the drafted stones are signed with Greek masons' marks. In Palmyra the statues are singularly poor in design and execution, but the architecture is more purely classic than that of earlier Syrians. Greco-Palmyrene bilingual texts here witness the mingled character of the population. The Jewish synagogues in Galilee, which belong probably to the second century A.D., also present us with a semi-classic style, much marred by details of native origin which, to our eyes, seem strangely out of place.

The great contribution of the Romans to Eastern architecture was the arch: for whatever be the truth as to its antiquity in Egypt and Assyria, it did not practically become a building feature till after the Roman Conquest, when it begins to appear in triumphal arches, and in the barrel vaulting of roofs. The early Greek vaults of Tiryns, and the arches of the Phoenician aqueduct at Tyre, are not true arches at all, but arching forms due to the overlap of horizontal courses.

The domes, found in the tombs at Petra, and in the monument called 'Absolom's' at Jerusalem, start from circular drums; but a very remarkable attempt to apply a dome to a square building is found in one of the great tomb towers at 'Ammân in Gilead, which may date from the second century A.D. This dome rose neither from a drum, nor from pendentives such as Sassanians and Byzantines used later, but simply from horizontal courses projecting inwards from the four corners of the building, and cut on the inner faces to a circular form. This example is perhaps one of the earliest in Asia in which such a dome was attempted. The native Oriental roof was flat, and generally of wood. The Greek roof accompanying the pediment, was not needed in snowless regions, and it is

certain that the Temple at Jerusalem had a flat roof in Herod's time. On Assyrian bas reliefs, however, small domed buildings seem to be represented, such domes being probably built not of stone, but of concrete, formed on clay moulds supported by logs and brushwood, after the manner still used in the East. The very flat domes with pendentives in the vaults of the 'Double Gate' at Jerusalem are by some architects attributed to Herod, but by others to Justinian six centuries later. There is, however, a small flat masonry dome of similar construction in Herod's palace at Herodium, south of Bethlehem, which ap-

pears to belong to the original building. The Greco-Roman architecture of the second century appears to have remained little changed, down to the time of Constantine, in Asia: but between 330 A.D. and 530 A.D. a revolution in style occurs, dating perhaps from the erection of the great church of St. Sophia in Constantinople; and Byzantine architecture then comes into existence, simultaneously with the Sassanian style of Persia, while in the West the Romanesque begins already to develop at Spalato in Dalmatia. as early as the time of Diocletian (285-305 A.D.) It is interesting to trace these two developments of Greek Art in the East. The great change in Byzantium coincides with the decay of the Greco-Roman race, and with the invasion of the capital by Asiatics who attained to most of the higher offices of government. In Persia the Sassanians were the rivals and foes of the Greek Emperors, and their art and architecture, though still owing much to Greek influence, were also modified by native ideas. The fusion of these two schools-Byzantine and Persian-produced a new Arab and Saracenic architecture, long before the Gothic of the West developed from the Romanesque.

The Spalato palace has been much studied, to control conceptions of fourth century architecture. The style of its details is far purer than that of the earliest Christian buildings of the East, but many of the features are new, and distinct from classic style. The architrave is greatly increased at the expense of freize and cornice. Gateways appear with bold cornices supported by cantelievers, and adorned by elaborate

tracery in low relief on jambs and lintels. The cornice is carried in an arch between pillars under a pediment—a feature never found in the Antonine buildings, but commonly used later in Syria. Miniature arcading also appears perhaps for the first time.

Of Constantine's work in Rome very little has been left, in consequence of mediæval reconstructions. His baptistry contains Corinthian pillars in good style, and the basilica of Maxentius, which he completed, also presents well outlined and bold details, though coarsely executed. In the East we have a further example at Bethlehem, where the pillars of the great basilica—the oldest of existing Christian churches in Asia—are still standing in place. They support a plain wall rising to a clerestory in the nave: the capitals are Corinthian and fairly well carved, and are all marked with the cross, and the bases are also of good design. This building may have formed the model for the innumerable chapels of Syria, built in the fourth and fifth centuries, all on the same plan-a basilica with its apse to the East (not as often occurs in Europe to the West), and consisting of nave and aisles, with columns and flat entablatures or epistylia. Constantine's magnificent Basilica of the Anastasis, at Jerusalem, has utterly perished, and the description given by Eusebius is somewhat confused; but it is remarkable that, according to his account, the Byzantine love of decoration with precious metals already appeared in the silver capitals of its pillars and in its golden roof. This method of enriching the appearance of a building carries us back to the Babylonians, for Nebuchadnezzar, like Solomon, adorned the interior of his temples with carved plates of gold and of bronze.

Two other early Christian buildings in Syria—which had now become the Holy Land of the established faith—must be noticed, concerning the date of which there is some difference of opinion. They both present fine examples, probably of Greek Christian art, before the appearance of Byzantine peculiarities. The first is the Damascus mosque, and the second the Golden Gate at Jerusalem.

The great mosque at Damascus was built by El Welîd, the

sixth of the Ommeiyah Khalifs of Damascus, in the third year of his reign, 708 A.D. It replaced the Church of St. John Baptist which he destroyed, and which had been built by Theodosius about the close of the fourth century, and enlarged and completed by his son Arcadius, who acceded in 395 A.D. No remains of this church itself are traceable, but two fragments of Greek work, which have been supposed to belong to an earlier temple, may in all probability have belonged to this edifice. On the west side of the outer court of the mosque are the ruins of a great gateway, and at the base of the S.-W. Minaret there exists also a colounade clearly of Greek origin. Masûdi, writing in 954 A.D., also speaks of a second gateway on the east side of the enclosure, at the Bâb Jeirûn, which has now disappeared. The existing west gate consisted originally of six pillars, with Corinthian capitals, supporting a cornice, which rises to an arch over the two central pillars; and above this is a pediment. The design is similar to that found at Spalato half a century before the time of Theodosius. The arched cornice is never found in the temples of the second century A.D., in Palestine or Syria, and the general style of this building is more in accord with the Christian architecture of the fourth century. On the south wall of the mosque is also to be seen a doorway, very similar to one at Spalato, and to others which are known in Syria dating from the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. The great gateway also bears a Greek Christian inscription, in which the name of Christ has been inserted in a verse from the Septuagint translation of the Psalms:

'Thy kingdom (O Christ) is an everlasting kingdom,
And Thy dominion endureth throughout all generations.'

—(Psalm cxlv. 13).

The text may have been written later than the erection of the pediment, but it is equally possible that it indicates the Christian origin of this fine structure. It was a common practice in Syria, in the fourth century, to inscribe such verses of Psalms over the entrances of chapels and of houses. These few fragments of the Church of Arcadius indicate that it must have been a large and important building. The outer court measured at least 700 feet east and west, and the church itself

may have been as large as the existing mosque, which is 446 feet long north and south, by 125 ft. east and west.

The Golden Gateway, on the east wall of the temple enclosure at Jerusalem, is a building of the same class, but probably of somewhat later date. There is no very distinct allusion to its existence before 1102 A.D., when Sæwulf speaks of it as having existed in the time of Heraclius (629 A.D.) A more doubtful allusion to its being the 'Beautiful Gate' of the temple is found in the diary of Anthony of Piacenza (560-570 A.D.) By de Vogué it is supposed to date from the fifth or sixth century, and others have regarded it as the work of Julian, on the occasion of his attempt to rebuild the temple.* This beautiful gate-house, with a double entrance, is crowned by six domes resting on two large central pillars. The design of the arched cornices, and other details, recall the Spalato architecture, but the work is less purely classical, and the capitals of the central pillars, which are Ionic, seem to suggest a late period, being very heavy and inartistic. Prof. Hayter Lewis, compares the Church of St. Demetrius in Thessalonica, built early in the sixth century, as being the nearest in style to the Golden Gateway. The domes are on the true Byzantine principle; and, in spite of the great differences in detail which distinguish this gateway from Justinian's style in Constantinople, it may be supposed to have formed part of the extensive works which he carried out about 530 A.D. in Jerusalem, including the great Church of the Virgin erected on the south wall of the same enclosure. The successive rebuildings and destructions (due to earthquake) of this latter church, and the work done by the Khalifs and by the Templars, have left us nothing of the original plan, although the heavy columns with Byzantine capitals, which flank the central nave of the Aksa mosque may have belonged to Justinian's basilica, and may possibly still remain in situ.

With the erection of the great cathedral of St. Sophia by Justinian, we enter on an entirely new chapter of Greek art. The few remains of building which belong to the 5th century

^{*} Ammianus Marcellinus, xxiii. 1.

in Syria and elsewhere do not prepare us for so great a change in style, and are more similar to the architecture of Constantine's age. In order to understand how such a revolution in art came about, it is necessary briefly to consider the history of the Eastern empire during the interval of two centuries between Constantine and Justinian, and the relations between the Greeks and their Asiatic and European subjects. Art and architecture only expressed the change in manners due to the rise of new forces in the empire, and to the decay of the Greek and Roman races.

After the death of Constantine in 361 A.D., the Persians, under Sapor, advanced their frontier to Diarbekr and Nisibis, and under Valentinian I, the Euphrates became the eastern boundary of the empire about 375 A.D. The first Hunnic invasion of the west occurred in the same year, and wars in Africa and against Germans and Goths, left neither time nor money to devote to art or to building. Under Theodosius (379-395 A.D.) there was peace with Persia, and Oriental embassies reached Byzantium. The Goths were settled in Thrace and in Asia, and added a new element to the mingled population of the Eastern Empire; but immediately on the accession of the sons of Theodosius-Arcadius in the East and Honorius in the West-appeared Alaric, marching into Greece in 396, and invading Italy in 409 A.D. The luxury of the empire under Arcadius is vividly described in the sermons of St. Chrysostom, and the use of silver and gold in churches and palaces became extravagant. The Eastern emperor is described as robed in purple silk wrought with massive dragons of gold embroidery. The riches of the clergy and nobility of Antioch, their silver chariots and golden vessels, scandalised the great preacher; and the influence of Syrian art was equally felt in Rome itself. Under Theodosius II., in 422 A.D., a truce with Persia was established, which endured for eighty years; and Armenia was divided soon after between the Romans and Persians. During this period it is probable that the native civilization of the Sassanian monarchs may have become familiar in Byzantium, and after 450 A.D. the Nestorians, driven eastward by the Orthodox Greek party,

took with them to Persia a knowledge of western art and letters, and began to build, probably in the Byzantine style. In 430 A.D. the Huns attacked Persia, and ten years later they endeavoured to reach Byzantium. Peace was made with Attila in 446 A.D., and his energies were diverted to Gaul. In 476 the Western empire fell, but in the East the time of Anastasius (491-518 A.D.) was a period of retrenchment, by which Justinian profited during his glorious reign.

Justinian was himself apparently of Gothic origin, and the revival of the empire, due to the victories of Belisarius in Africa, Italy, and Persia, was accompanied by an activity in peaceful development which has left its mark all over western Asia, in the ruins of churches, fortresses, and walled towns, as far east as the borders of Persia, where, during the same period, the strong rule of Chosroes Nushirwan (531-579 A.D.) was signalised by the encouragement of literature, and by the erection of the new palace at Ctesiphon, south of Baghdad, near the east banks of the Tigris. Chosroes invaded Syria in 540 A.D., and took back with him to the East a number of Syrian captives, who appear to have erected Greek buildings in their new home. The affinities which have been remarked between the Sassanian and the Byzantine architecture of the sixth century are no doubt explained by such peaceful relations which were renewed, from 541 A.D., for twenty years, and the reign of Justinian (527-565 A.D.) marks a distinct epoch in the Greek art of Asia. The Byzantine influence began to penetrate northwards with Greek trade, until even the mediæval art of the Norsemen and their runic characters arose in imitation of Greek models. But after this great age the power of the empire dwindled reign by reign, until Chosroes II. took Jerusalem in 614 A.D., and Omar finally wrested from the Greeks their Asiatic dominions twenty years later, and subdued Persia at the same time.

The empire of Justinian was no longer Greek or Roman, and the civilisation of Byzantium was Asiatic rather than European. The Syrians dominated the Church. Goths and other wild races of the North had settled down on the Danube, and had become distributed over Anatolia. The old classic ideas of

simplicity in art had given way to a barbaric love of colour and profuse adornment. A lace-like tracery covers the gallery fronts of St. Sophia, and glass mosaic began to be extensively used to ornament interiors. Procopius revels in description of the varied colours of the marbles used by Justinian, but the lover of classic art laments the loss of form in the elaborate capitals of the St. Sophia pillars. The heavy shape of these capitals, peculiar to Byzantine style, became yet more exaggerated later. The volutes diminished, and finally disappeared; a basket-work ornamentation replaced the acanthus leaf; and in the poorer execution of provincial chapels the artist was content to obtain an effect of ornament by holes drilled in a flat surface in curving lines, replacing the bold, sharp chiselling of Greek work found as late as the time of Constantine. Silver and gold took the place of white marble, and Arabesque tracery of the more massive classic foliage. The art of the sixth century reminds us rather of Phœnician metal work than of Roman masonry. The influence of the Syrians on the barbarians who had permeated the empire, descending from the North, gave rise to new ideas, replacing those of the earlier ruling race. Yet the Greek influence was not wholly lost, and formed the basis of the new Byzantine style. In Persia, brick and small rough stonework was concealed by plaster and stucco. In Constantinople brick was also used for the structure of the St. Sophia, and was veneered with marble. The Sassanians used bitumen for mortar, like the early Babylonians; and in the West an inferior masonry, with beds of lead, and thick mortar-joints, replaced the magnificent ashlar of the Antonines, which was so massive and finely wrought as to render the use of cement needless. The Greek canons of proportion became obsolete, and stiff, gaunt figures of saints, painted or wrought in mosaic, replaced the bold reliefs and statues of classic Greece. Images had not, as yet, been forbidden by the Greek Church, but they were wrought in gold, silver, and bronze; and a barbaric delight in glitter and colour, in false surface appearance, and intricate ornament, replaced the simplicity and greatness of solid white marble sculpture. The art of the Byzantines is a true expression of the character of the people who now squandered the wealth of Europe and Asia.

Among new architectural ideas, the dome became one of the most remarkable. The flat dome of St. Sophia, notable for size, but built of very light material, is often regarded as a new invention of the emperor's architect; but in Asia, as we have already seen, it is traceable to the second century A.D., and perhaps even earlier, while it is doubtful whether it was not used in Persia a century before it appeared in Byzantium. It seems to be of Asiatic origin, and its application to square buildings was a problem which the Sassanians had solved before the pendentive came into use in the West. The enquiry leads us to consider the growth of native style in Persia under the Sassanians, and the later development of Arab art, which was equally indebted to the Persian and the Byzantine teaching.

The early influence of Greece in Persia has been already noticed, but side by side with this must be placed the tradition of Persian architecture and sculpture, tracing back to the time of the Achemenidæ at Persepolis. The eastern Aryans, invading Persia from Bactria, adopted the civilisation of the Elamites and Babylonians whom they conquered. Persepolis traces its origin to the earlier art of Chaldea; and the carved signet of Darius is almost Assyrian in character. The fine masonry of Pasargadæ, however, seems to indicate Greek influence. In the Hall of Artaxerxes at Susa. the brick is covered with enamelled tiles, which seem to suggest the origin of the later Persian faience work, in which the Arabs delighted. With the Sassanians a new art arises, and the traditions of Babylonia were discarded equally with Greek ideas, as Greek and Babylonian written characters were also abandoned for the new alphabet of the Aramean-speaking peoples of Chaldea.

Close to the ancient capital of Susa two Sassanian palaces still exist in ruins, east of the Persian Gulf, at Serbistan and Firuzabad. The first of these has been supposed by architects to date even as early as the middle of the fourth century (the reign of Sapor), and the second to be a century later. The palace of Serbistan is remarkable for its lofty domes of elliptical section, surmounting square chambers. They are somewhat insecurely based on arches built across the four corners of the walls below, which form alcoves, not properly structural, but

depending rather on the power of resistance of a rough rubble set in bitumen.

The Firuzabad Palace repeats the same features, but with superior construction. The use of stucco decoration is here notable, with clustered pillars; but the peculiarities of Sassanian architecture are yet more distinctly illustrated by the ruins of Ctesiphon, where the elliptical barrel vaulting of the central passage or hall is flanked by walls ornamented with double semi-columns, above and between which smaller arched arcades are inserted.

In Syria, east of the Jordan, two buildings exist which closely reproduce the main features of Sassanian art. The elliptical arch, the coupled column, and the miniature arcade above, characterise the hall at 'Amman, which was built in the centre of an earlier Roman fortress. At Mashitta, near the Hâj road in Moab, east of Heshbon, are the foundations of a palace which in general plan recalls those of Persia. It has been attribued to Chosroes I., who however seems only to have invaded Northern Syria, or to Chosroes II., at the time when the Persians overran all Western Asia and Egypt. The latter king occupied Palestine in 614 A.D., but withdrew his forces ten years later, on account of the bold advance of Heraclius from Armenia to Ispahan in the heart of Persia; and although the Mashitta palace seems never to have been completed, it is doubtful whether Chosroes II. would have had leisure even to commence such a building. He destroyed the Christian churches of Syria, but is not recorded to have ordered the construction of any architectural works. Unfortunately there are no inscriptions, either at 'Amman or at Mashitta, to attest the origin of these beautiful buildings. In both cases the delicate tracery of the stone work-carved after the erection of the walls-far surpasses anything vet known in Persia, although it may be regarded as nearer akin to later Persian than to Byzantine art. One of the panels at 'Amman gives a representation of an artificial tree, recalling those shewn on Assyrian bas-reliefs, and akin to the semi-Greek ornamentation of Tak-i-Bostan between Baghdad and Ecbatana. At Mashitta an elaborate design represents two conventional lions, flanking a vase, whence the arabesque ornament springs. Such representation of animal life was forbidden to strict Moslems, but has nevertheless been found in specimens of Arab art in all ages. At 'Ammân the designs are all geometric or arabesque, and no animal forms occur. The dwarf pillars have capitals not unlike the early Norman forms, and their arches have dogtooth mouldings. The influence of Greek or Byzantine art is however traceable in the rosettes, at both the sites here mentioned, and we shall see reason immediately to suspect that these structures were erected by the early Ommeiyah Khalifs of Damascus. That Byzantine influence did penetrate into Persia is shown by the pillar capitals of Tak-i-Bostan, and of Bisutûn hard by, which both in form and in decoration recall those of the age following the erection of Saint Sophia.

At the time of the Arab conquest of Western Asia there were thus in existence two separate schools of art and architecture—that of the Greeks and that of the Persians. The Arabs themselves cannot be said to have had any native art at all. Their greatest architectural triumph was the Kaaba at Meccaa cube without any ornamental feature. In North Arabia weak imitations of Babylonian and Greek art mark the rude monuments of an earlier period, and in Yemen the same influences were feebly felt; but the first Khalifs of Damascus, and the later Khalifs of Baghdad, alike relied on Greek and Persian artists, when they began to erect new buildings in their newly won dominions. They were long content to appropriate Christian churches as mosques, and perhaps one of the earliest buildings in Asia specially erected for Moslem prayer is found also at 'Amman beneath the citadel; for its arches are round, and the pointed arch came into use in Syria in the ninth century A.D., and is found in the Nilometer near Cairo as early as 861 A.D.

We have already seen that El Welîd erected a mosque at Damascus, and we are expressly told by el Mukaddasi that he brought skilled workmen from Persia, India, and Byzantium, to assist in its construction. The curious glass mosaics of the facade, whether original or of later date, indicated Byzantine influence. They have now unfortunately been injured by the disastrous fire which occurred in 1893. The greater part of the existing structure belongs to the time of El Welîd (708 A.D.),

and the arches are round, or in some cases slightly pointed. The great inscription noticed by Mas'ûdi (954 A.D.), which ascribed the building to this Khalif, and attested the destruction of the church of Arcadius, has however perished. The description by el Mukaddasi applies to the existing structure, but the mosaics in gold and in colours, which once covered walls and roof, have now disappeared. The dome of the mosque, rising from an octagon, is very Byzantine in character, and appears to be ancient. It is supported on arched pendentives, in the four corners of the square walls beneath, after the manner already described in Sassanian buildings. The ideas of the Greek and Persian architects, who aided in building this early and interesting work, are thus visible to the present day.

The Damascus mosque was not however the first built by the Ommeiyah Khalifs, for all Moslem accounts agree that 'Abd el Melek, the father of El Welîd, built a shrine over the sacred rock (or Sakhrah) in the temple enclosure at Jerusalem (688-691 A.D.), and the present Dome of the Rock preserves a mosaic Kufic text of 72 A.H., which serves to confirm these accounts. Before this time Omar had built a wooden mosque west of the rock, which has now disappeared. The Christians never erected any building on the site, although Justinian built the church of St. Mary on the south side of the enclosure, and a chapel of St. Sophia on the north, at the Pretorium, which still exists in the Turkish barracks.

Jerusalem was a sacred city to the Moslems, and had even for a time been the Kibleh or 'direction' of prayer. The quarrels of the Ommeiyah with the citizens of Medinah inclined these Khalifs to discourage pilgrimage to Mecca, and to foster the tradition which saw in the Haram of Jerusalem that 'remote sanctuary' (Haram el Aksa) to which Muhammad was carried.* Pilgrimage to Jerusalem was therefore instituted, and a Kubbeh

^{*} The foundation of the legend of Muhammad's night journey to Jerusalem, and ascent to heaven from the Sakhrah rock, is found in the words, 'blessed be He who brought His Servant from the sanctuary to the far off sanctuary' (Koran xvii. 1); but it is more likely that the passage refers to the escape of Muhammad from Mecca to Medinah.

or 'dome' (not a mosque) was erected by 'Abd el Melek over the Sakhrah.

The chapel which thus represented the oldest Arab building of ascertained date is among the most beautiful and impressive of Oriental structures. Its proportions on the exterior are marred by the excessive width of the octagonal outer wall, which somewhat dwarfs the height of the dome and drum; but the interior, glowing with ancient mosaic work, and marble pillars with gilt capitals, the dome of wood painted with arabesque patterns, and the very fine sixteenth century windows of stained glass, combine to give a general effect of great richness and beauty. They recall the appearance which the Damascus mosque presented in the tenth century A.D., and indicate that, from the first, Greek and Persian artists must have been employed at Jerusalem as well as at Damascus.

The wooden dome, bearing an inscription of Saladin, rises from a drum, covered with mosaics of later date than those of the outer arcade, which belong to the original period. The dome is supported on eight piers, between each of which there are two The arches are slightly elliptical, and covered with a veneer of grey and white marble. The pillars were evidently torn from some of the Christian churches destroyed in 614 A.D. by Chosroes. The capitals are in no case the same on any of the columns; some are Corinthian of late character, some are later Byzantine. They do not in every case belong to the shafts which they surmount, and the bases-now covered over with marble slabs-are equally diverse. Round this colonnade a beautiful grille of French hammered iron-work, dating from the 12th century, encloses the rock. An octagonal arcade forms an outer cloister, and the arches are here covered with mosaics of the 7th century. The painted, wooden ceiling of the arcade is comparatively modern, but the ornamental wooden beam which, as in other Arab buildings, runs above the caps of the pillars, is an original feature.

El Y'akûbi, writing in 874 A.D., says that 'Abd el Melek built over the Sakhrah a dome, and hung it round with curtains of brocade.' The arcade was thus apparently open to the air at first, but in 985 A.D. el Mukaddasi describes the building as

having four gates; and Ibn el Fakih, in 903, says that 'at each gate there are four doors, and over each gate is a porch of marble.' The present building, with its outmost octagonal wall enclosing the arcade, thus appears to date from the 9th century A.D. The extant bronze gates bear the date 831 A.D., when el Mamûn, the Abbaside Khalif, restored the building; and the old beams of the roof resting on this outer wall have on them a date answering to 913 A.D.

This outer wall is one of the most interesting features of the building. It is now covered with enamelled tiles, but these were removed for repairs in 1874, when it was discovered that the wall had originally been adorned with glass mosaics, and presented the peculiar feature of a dwarf arcade, forming the battlement above the roof, and surmounting arched panels similar to those found at 'Amman, and in the Sassanian buildings of Persia. The caps of the coupled pillars, flanking the round arches of this dwarf arcade, are also similar to those at 'Amman. The Persian influence is here clearly traceable as late as the time of el Mamûn, while the general effect of the original building is so similar to that of a Byzantine church that (until more carefully examined by later explorers) the dome of the Rock was pronounced by Mr. Fergusson (in defiance of history) to have been built by Constantine, and by Prof. Sepp (with equal disregard of known facts) is attributed to Justinian. The character of the ornamentation renders it probable that the buildings at 'Amman and Mashitta, already described, may also have been erected by the Khalifs of the 8th or 9th century A.D., by aid of Greek and Persian artists, as in the case of the Damascus mosque.

Our enquiry has thus carried the history of Greek influence in art down to the time of the Arab Khalifs. The Christian chapels, built by their permission, were purely Byzantine in character, and the features of this art became yet more pronounced in the 8th and 10th centuries. When first the Crusaders began to build (before 1130 A.D.) they also adopted a heavy Romanesque style, but after that time their buildings are more Gothic in character, with pointed arches, clustered columns, fanciful capitals, and bold, dog-tooth mouldings. Considering that their Syrian churches are older than the Gothic buildings

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of Italy or of Western Europe, it is not unnatural to suppose that their later style sprang from the influence of Arab art. The pointed arch was an advance made by the Arabs on the elliptical arch of Persia, long before the first Crusade. Slender coupled shafts, dog-tooth mouldings, and simple pillar caps, very similar to those used by the Crusaders and by the Normans in the West, had all appeared in Arab buildings three centuries or more before the Crusaders adopted them. In Sicily the Arab architecture was known to the Normans before they reached Asia, and the same Saracenic influence reached France from Spain at a very early period. The classic models of the West-such as the early Romanesque churches of Italy-presented no such ideas of lightness and height as were to be derived from Arab style. the Greco-Persian influence penetrated also to the far West, and lies at the base of Gothic architecture. The Byzantine influence is clearly shown in the frescoes and mosaics of the 12th century found in churches and monasteries of the Crusaders; and after the fall of Constantinople in 1203 A.D., Greek literature and Greek art were carried to Italy, and so diffused throughout Europe.

Briefly to sum up the results of our inquiry we have seen that the origin of Greek art is to be found in the earlier civilisation of Asia Minor and Syria, adopted and improved by a new Aryan race unfettered by the traditions of Eastern style. After the Macedonian conquest the art of the victorious Greeks imposed itself on Asia, where however the copyists never attained to the beauty and truth of Greek models. With the triumph of Christianity the later Greek style again spread over the Eastern Empire, while the rise of a strong dynasty in Persia gave birth to a native art which owed more to the Babylonians than it did to the Greeks. With the development of new forces in Byzantium, under Justinian, a great change in art and architecture coincides, and the influence of Persia and of Syria again prevailed over and mingled with the classic ideas of Greeks and Romans. The ignorant Arab became a new pupil both of the Persian and of the Greek, and the rude Crusaders learned in the East new features of ornament and of structure, which laid the basis for the beautiful Gothic art of Western Europe, after the twelfth

century of our era. The history af art and architecture is one of natural development or evolution, and the art of any age is a true indication of the character of race, and of the influences to which various peoples became subject in consequence of conquest, or of peaceful relations with other nations.

C. R. CONDER.

ART. VIII.—SOME ANONYMOUS SCOTTISH SONGS.

In their national songs and ballads the Scottish people have inherited a kingdom of romance and poesy such as few other nations can boast of. It is a kingdom of which they are justly proud, and in which most of them delight to wander.

Our Scottish songs 'have the pure breath of the heather and the mountain breeze.' Sir Walter Scott compares them to cameos that show what the national visage was in former days. They show the thoughts, the style of living, and the manners and morals of the times in which they were written as no other writings show them. What vivid pictures of the rough and ready wooings of the old times do we find in 'Muirland Willie,' 'The Brisk Young Lad,' 'The wooing of Jenny and Jock,' and 'I hae laid a Herring in Saut,' and what an inimitable description of a rustic wedding two centuries ago is given in 'The Blythsome Bridal.' Mr. Chambers says of the last named song, 'its enumeration of oddly characterised men and women, all with appropriate nicknames, is only to be equalled by its list of the rough viands and dainties with which they were to be regaled.'

It is impossible now to trace the authorship of very many of our old songs. Probably they were transmitted orally from generation to generation, as the ballads were, and in course of time the name of the author, if ever known, was forgotten. Many of them were probably, as Ritson points out, the productions of obscure anonymous authors, of shepherds and milkmaids, who actually felt the sensations they describe. In many instances there can be no doubt that shyness or modesty

prevented the author or authoress attaching his or her name to their work. In these days, when self-advertisement has become a fine art, we fail to appreciate such refined modesty. But that such was the feeling in former generations can be amply proved. The authors of the songs published for the first time in Allan Ramsay's Tea Table Miscellany in 1724 purposely withheld their names, and the authorship of many of these songs can now never be traced. We know that William Crawford, David Mallet, and William Hamilton were among the 'ingenious young gentlemen' who assisted Ramsay in writing the Miscellany, but of the others little or nothing is known. It was with difficulty that Sir Walter Scott could get Miss Jean Elliot to acknowledge the authorship of 'I've heard them lilting at our yowe-milking;' the name of the authoress of 'And ye shall walk in silk attire' was not generally known for fifty years after her death; and, not to mention others, with Lady Nairne the secrecy as to the authorship of her lovely songs was little short of a mania.

In glancing over the old anonymous songs it is at once seen that some of them have been written by women. The tenderness and simplicity of 'The Broom o' the Cowden Knowes' are surely purely feminine, and who can doubt that 'O, waly, waly' was written by a woman? It is the heart's cry of a poor deceived girl.

'O gentle death, whan wilt thou cum?
For of my life I am wearie.
'Tis not the frost that freezes fell,
Nor blawing snaw's inclemencie;
'Tis not sic cauld that makes me cry,
By my love's heart grown cauld to me.'

And yet in the midst of her despair she thinks of how she and her lover were dressed and how they must have looked as they came in by Glasgow town.

> When we came in by Glasgow town We were a comely sight to see; My love was clad i' th' black velvet, And I mysell in cramasie.'

Could any touch be more thoroughly feminine? No man would have thought of his dress, or of the appearance he made

in the eyes of others, if his heart were breaking. This song is supposed to refer to the unhappy marriage of Lady Barbara Erskine, daughter of the ninth Earl of Mar, to James, second Marquess of Douglas. If this supposition is correct, then the song may have been written by the unhappy Marchioness. If it was written by a woman, as is probable, the authoress was evidently in the higher ranks of life; the language and the allusions show this.

If the old song 'I'll gar our Gude-man trow,' first printed in C. K. Sharpe's Ballad Book, was written by a woman, the authoress was gifted with an unusual amount of humour for one of her sex. In looking over our national collections it is surprising to notice how few humourous songs have been written by women. Lady Nairne and Joanna Baillie are almost the only ones that have produced humourous songs, and 'The Laird of Cockpen,' by far the best of Lady Nairne's, is after all a development of the idea in the old song 'When she cam' ben, she bobbit.' The anonymous song 'I'll gar our Gude-man trow,' is delightfully and humourously feminine throughout. In it the gude-wife tells her cronies what she will do if her husband does not provide her with a new sidesaddle, some rings, and three or four valets, and the refrain is ludicrously arrogant. She calls her cronies 'fisher jades,' and orders them to stand aside to give her gown room. Surely such an idea is thoroughly feminine!

When attempting to judge from internal evidence whether an anonymous lyric has been written by a man or woman three points have to be kept in view, namely, the nominal sex of the speaker, the character of the humour, and the character of the pathos.

As regards the first of these points it is of course more natural for a man to write as a man, and a woman as a woman. To do so requires only the lyric gift, while to write as one of the opposite sex requires dramatic talent also. If many of our old songs have been written by shepherds and milkmaids who actually felt the sensations they describe, then we can assume that in most instances the writer has written from the point of view of his or her sex. There is no doubt that among the

Scottish people it has not been uncommon for comparatively prosaic persons, at some moment of supreme emotion or passion, to express their feelings in verse, and such lyrics sometimes attain to a high order of merit. These songs, coming straight from the heart, are almost certain to be written from the point of view of the writer, and not from that of the opposite sex. This is especially so with women. If we look over the songs written by Scotswomen, from Lady Grisell Baillie's 'Werena my heart licht I wad dee' downwards, we find very few exceptions to this rule, especially when the authoress wrote only a few songs. Lady Nairne wrote many songs, and she was a great poetess with dramatic instinct: she is therefore an exception to the rule. But even of the nine or ten songs she wrote from the man's point of view several are old songs polished up, and the others cannot be classed among her best. With Joanna Baillie, also, her best known songs are, as she herself says, 'Auld sangs new buskit.' They are not passionate lyrics coming from the heart. And the same rule holds with Burns himself. Of the two hundred and seventy songs written by him fifty-three are from the woman's point of view, and of these the best can be counted on the fingers of one hand. They are 'John Anderson, my jo,' 'Ye banks and braes,' 'Last May a braw wooer,' and 'Wandering Willie,' this last being an 'auld sang new buskit.'

The second point to consider is the character of the humour, if it be a humourous song. The range of a man's humour is wider than that of a woman, and it is well that it should be so. Natural delicacy has prevented women touching upon certain subjects which have unfortunately too often been used by the ruder sex as the foundation of humourous songs. Women have not even, so far as we know, drawn upon conviviality for their humour. But both sexes can meet on the common ground of such subjects as courtship and marriage. Compare, for instance, 'The Laird o' Cockpen' with 'Duncan Gray.' In the woman's song the heroine wins the day; in the man's the hero wins. In the former the details are gone into much more than in the latter, and, as is often the case in songs by women, the dresses are described.

'His wig was weel pouther'd and as gude as new; His waistcoat was white, his coat it was blue; He put on a ring, a sword, and cock'd hat, And wha could refuse the Laird wi' a' that?'

What feminine satire there is in that last line! Then the poor blundering Laird called at the wrong time of day. In his excitement he forgot that 'a morning call must be paid between the hours of 3 p.m. and 6 p.m.,' as the books on etiquette say, but how feminine to point this out! No one could imagine Burns touching upon a trifling breach of etiquette such as this. And as it was not a time for receiving visitors Mistress Jean had to change her dress, and no doubt kept the Laird waiting an unconscionable time, only as that would not occur to the feminine mind it is not dwelt upon.

' She put aff her apron and on her silk goun, Her mutch wi' red ribbons, and gaed awa' doun.'

The humour in this song is very delicate and the satire very pointed, but it is like stippling compared with the broad brush of Burns. Although it was 'blithe yule night' when Duncan Gray came to woo, and no doubt both he and Maggie were dressed in their best, still Burns does not condescend to touch upon that, but he does admit, what to the masculine mind is of much greater importance, that 'we were fu'.'

The Laird, being in an upper stratum of society, took Mistress Jean's 'Na' as final, but in Duncan's rank in life it is permissible to fleech and pray, and he did so. Moreover, he

' Sighed baith out and in, Grat his een baith bleert and blin ; Spak' o' lowpin' o'er a linn'

before he gave up the siege. After the refusal the thought in the lover's minds was similar, only the Laird, as was to be expected, expressed it in a more gentlemanly way.

'She's daft to refuse the Laird o' Cockpen '

is much more polite than saying-

'She may gae to-France for me!'

It is surprising that any writer of taste should have proposed adding the two verses to 'The Laird o' Cockpen' that

are attributed to Miss Ferrier. If a man had written them, they would have been condemned, and coming from a lady they are in still worse taste. The point of the story is the unbounded surprise of the self-important Laird that a penniless lass should refuse him, and the moral Lady Nairne means to impress upon man is, that pride comes before a fall. Miss Ferrier's verses, apart from the question of taste, nullify the lesson the authoress intended to teach.

The moral in 'Duncan Gray' is precisely the same, only it was not the 'lad o' grace' that required to be taught humility. The pride was in Maggie's heart, and it was she who was humbled. In this way Burns impresses the same lesson upon women that Lady Nairne does on men. They both teach the opposite sex—not their own.

The third point to consider in judging the sex of the unknown author of a song is the character of the pathos, if it be a pathetic song. If men have a broader vein of humour than women, the gentler sex has quite as great a depth of pathos as men, if not greater. It may be questioned if any songs written by our poets equal in this respect Lady Anne Lindsay's 'Auld Robin Grav.' Miss Elliot's 'Flowers of the Forest,' and Lady Nairne's 'Land o' the Leal.' Of the first of these Mr. F. T. Palgrave writes:- 'There can hardly exist a poem more truly tragic in the highest sense than this: nor, except Sappho, has any poetess known to me equalled it in excellence.' This is very high praise from perhaps the highest authority of our times. The two other songs I have mentioned are very little inferior to 'Auld Robin Gray;' indeed the 'Land o' the Leal' has been pronounced by the late Professor Blackie as 'perhaps the very top and crewn of all Scottish devout songs.' The treatment of subject in 'Auld Robin Gray' and 'The Flowers of the Forest' is to some extent similar, and the effect is heightened by artistic, and yet very feminine, treatment of minutiae. The touch of the lady in pathos, as in humour, is a fine one: the details of the situation are dwelt upon more than the broad results. In 'The Land o' the Leal' there is not the same room for description of incidents, but to a certain extent there is a similar treatment of detail. These three

songs are alike in, there being little or no reference to Nature in them—that Nature which Burns always went to for sympathy in his sorrows. If we compare 'Highland Mary,' 'Mary in Heaven,' and 'The Banks o' Doon,' with the above three songs, the difference of treatment is most marked. In each of them Burns appeals to Nature as his only source of consolation, and he compares or contrasts her sights and sounds with his mental state. And this is true of other poets also. In that beautiful poem of Logan's 'The Braes of Yarrow' the heroine addresses Yarrow and Nature, telling them of her sorrows; and Sir Walter Scott in 'Where shall the lover rest,' and 'He is gone on the Mountain,' receives consolation from Nature, or compares the loss of the hero to the evanescent 'dew on the mountain' and 'foam on the river.'

In songs of sentiment, apart from pathos, it is most difficult to tell the sex of the author of our anonymous songs. Still, a phrase here or there, or a certain atmosphere of the song, may indicate what we want to know, especially when the sex of the speaker is considered.

Keeping these points in view let us consider now some of the best known of our anonymous songs, and I begin with 'S. R's.' Broom of Cowden-Knowes,' briefly mentioned before. This charming lyric appeared first in Ramsay's Tea Table Miscellany, published in 1724. The refrain is known to be that of a much older song now lost. 'S. R's.' song is put into the lips of a woman; it is a song of pathos without consolation being sought from Nature, or comparisons made with natural sights or sounds; details are not wanting; the tenderness is quite feminine, and so are the lines—

'My doggie, and my little kit
That held my wee soup whey,
My plaidy, broach, and crooked stick
May now lie useless by.'

Mr. Chambers thinks that 'S. R.' was alive in Ramsay's time, but 'being probably a gentleman or lady under the restraints of society, desired to remain unknown.' Judging from internal evidence there can be little doubt, I think, that 'S. R.' was a lady. It appears to be impossible now to trace the authorship

of the song. Ramsay's wife's initials were not 'S. R.' and his poetical daughter was too young in 1724 to have written the song. The only person with the initials 'S. R.' who subscribed for the collected edition of Ramsay's Pcems—was a man—a Mr. Samuel Rith—and he subscribed for two copies. But who was Mr. Samuel Rith? Was he such a genius as to write the 'Broom of the Cowdenknowes?'

'Shame fa' the Gear' may be attributed to a woman for the same reasons as 'The Broom of the Cowdenknowes.' The same may also be said of 'Anne Bothwell's Lament,' except that details are not dwelt upon so much; but the two last stanzas show the noble, forgiving spirit of a true woman.

The old song of 'Wandering Willie,' which Burns so beautifully imitated, is one of refined sentiment, and excepting that it is sung by a woman there is little to indicate the sex of the

author.

Although 'The Brisk Young Lad' is a humourous song, and therefore difficult to judge, the humour is surely that of a woman. It is a girl who speaks; she was glad to have the wooer, for she took him in and gave him a scone (she 'was baking when he came') and bread and ale; he would pay no attention to the lassie till he had finished his meal; this coolness incensed her so much that she shoved him to the door, where he fell into a 'deuk-dub' to the intense satisfaction of the girl, her parents and neighbours. As in 'The Laird o' Cockpen' it is a woman impressing upon men the lesson that pride comes before a fall.

'I Lo'e nae a Laddie but ane,' is given in Ritson's collection with the initials 'J. D.' attached to it, but someone told Burns that it was written by a 'Mr. Clunie,' minister of Borthwick. It is more like the song of a woman than a man.

'The Country Lass' was first printed in the Tea Table Miscellany, and marked as an old song. The first sixteen lines are like a woman's, but in the third stanza we read—

'No wines do e'er 'my veins' enrage, Or tempt my mind to sin;'

and in the next stanza she speaks about 'my fair body,' phrases which rather show the cloven hoof of man.

In 'Andro and his Cutty Gun,' although it is a woman who speaks, the humour is more that of a man.

'The Cock-Laird' and 'My Jo Janet' are amusing dialogues between a man and a woman. In the former the heroine has the last word, in the latter it is the hero. From this circumstance it might be supposed that the former was written by a woman, but in both the humour seems more that of the other sex.

'Saw ye Johnnie Comin'' is a strange mixture of humour and 'pathetic earnestness' on the part of the heroine, asking her father to fee the lad she loves, though it does not appear whether or not Johnnie returns her affection. I think it would be unnatural for a woman to write such a song.

'Kind Robin Lo'es Me,' as we now know the song, appeared in Herd's *Collection*, and it has ever since been a favourite. The singer is a woman; the sentiment is pure and tender; she speaks of napkins, rings, gloves, and 'kissin' strings'—things dear to women—calls her lover 'tall and sonsie, frank and free,' as she ought to do; does not morbidly refer to Nature, and, in short, looks at things as a healthy young woman should do. For these reasons I attribute the song to one of the fair sex.

The pathetic little ballad, 'The Lowlands of Holland,' has also all the appearance of being written by a woman.

'There's nae Luck aboot the Hoose'—the most beautiful song of married love we possess—was written by an unmarried person. It was written either by an old maid of close upon fifty, or a young bachelor of six-and-twenty—the former, Jean Adam, the latter, William Julius Mickle. The claim for the latter was fully given in a letter written by Charles Mickle, a relative of the poet, and printed in the Athenaeum of January 27, 1877. It is briefly this: a copy of the song, differing in many minor details from the popular version, but written in the style of writing he was accustomed to about 1760, and on paper bearing the same water-mark as a letter he wrote in that year, was found among his papers about ten or twelve years after his death. Moreover, in 1810—that is, twenty-two years after Mickle's death—his widow told the Rev. J. Sim that

Mickle gave her the song as his own composition, and explained to her the Scottish words and phrases (Mrs. Mickle was an Englishwoman), and she repeated, with a very little assistance, the whole of the song except the eight lines ascribed to Dr. Beattie. Mr. Sim. in a letter to a certain Mr. Mudford, dated April, 1810, and said to be a reply to letter from Mr. Mudford in September, 1801 (Sim was a long time in getting up his facts), says he has discovered what he considers the first sketch of the song, and this is his explanation of the differences in the text from the usual version. This is all the evidence in favour of Mickle, and it is certainly not strong. It was not till twenty-two years after her husband's death that Mrs. Mickle said a word about the song being his, and at that time she was, as Sim admits, 'labouring under a disorder so repressive as paralysis.' Moreover, she did not voluntarily make any statement about the song, and when asked at first if she knew anything, she would or could say nothing about it. At a subsequent time, with Sim's assistance, she managed to repeat it. The value of such evidence must depend upon the state of health of the person who gives it. Her memory might quite well be such that she could repeat a song she had learned many years before, and yet her statement as to the authorship be, quite unwittingly, incorrect. She never claimed the song as her husband's when she was well; her claim when she was a paralysed old woman is therefore a weak one. evidence as to the water-mark on the paper has a certain amount of weight, but it is by no means conclusive. does not occasionally find paper in his desk that has been there for years? Or is it not possible that Mickle, as has been suggested, heard or saw the words in 1760 and copied them? In those days, when books were scarce or dear, is it not most probable that a man of literary tastes like Mickle would copy any verses that he particularly liked into a commonplace book or on loose sheets of paper? At any rate, we know that, apart from his widow's statement, Mickle never claimed the song as his. Sim says, in his preface to the 1806 edition of Mickle's Poems, that he had 'An unreserved intimacy of more than sixteen years' prior to his death with the poet, and he repeatedly promised to write Mickle's life, if he survived him, and act as his literary executor. Yet, during all those years, Mickle never hinted to Sim that he was the author of the song, which was so popular as to have been sung in the streets as early as 1772. Again, Sim says that Mickle had 'Too much honour and integrity to give the least occasion to the publishing of the works of another as his own productions,' and yet in an early epistle to a friend he appropriates Pope's line—

'But looks through Nature up to Nature's God,'

without acknowledgment, and in the same epistle he alters Pope's

'I lisped in numbers, for the numbers came.'

to

'I lisped no numbers, for no numbers came.'

It is claimed that Mickle wrote the song in 1760. Now, in 1761-62 he was in dire straits for money, and he wrote his poem, 'Providence,' with great care and with great expectations. If he had 'There's nae luck' in his desk at this time. why did he not try to publish it? At this time he had written nothing in the least like the song; nothing in Scottish, and nothing humourous. In 1764 he tried to publish a volume of poems, but the song was not one of the poems. In 1767 he published 'The Concubine' (afterwards called 'Syr Martyn') anonymously, but as it proved a success, he promptly acknowledged it. If 'There's nae luck' had been his, he would also have acknowledged it quickly when it became popular. In 1772 we find him editing Pearch's Collection of Poems, and inserting two of his own poems, 'Hengist and Mey,' and the 'Elegy of Mary, Queen of Scots.' If the song were his, would he not have inserted it also? In 1775 he published his translation of the 'Lusiad,' in 1781 'Almada Hill,' and in 1782 'The Prophecy of Queen Emma,' a ballad, and yet he does not include 'There's nae luck' in any of these volumes. The only lyric he wrote was shortly before his death in 1788. It is called 'Eskdale Braes,' and it is in English not in our Doric. He never used the Scottish dialect in any of his acknowledged poems. If he had written a song that had become popular, is

it possible that a man, thirsting for popularity as Mickle did, could refrain from writing more songs in the same strain? I think not. Neither in the edition of Mickle's Poems, published in 1794, nor in the subsequent collection of classical poetry printed at Edinburgh, with a life of the author by Robert

Anderson, M.D., is the song given.

'There's nae luck' is a song of mature love, but in 1760 Mickle was far from mature. Two years later, in 1762, he calls himself 'A youth as yet beginning existence,' in some reflections written at that time. Judging by internal evidence. the song is infinitely more likely to have been the work of a mature, though unmarried, woman than of 'a youth as yet beginning existence.' The affection pourtrayed is purely feminine-

> 'Since Colin's well, I'm well content, I hae nae mair to crave : Could I but live to mak' him blest. I'm blest aboon the lave.'

And

' His very foot has music in't As he comes up the stair. And will I see his face again, And will I hear him speak?'

Were these lines written by a youth of twenty-six or dictated by the heart of a woman? No one who knows human nature can doubt.

Were the instructions to the maids to 'Mak' a clean fireside,' to 'Gi'e little Kate her Sunday gown and Jock his button coat,' to 'Mak' their shoon as black as slaes,' and to 'Spread the table neat and clean,' more likely to have been written by a lad or by a woman who had been a nursery governess at a manse? From internal evidence there can hardly be any doubt that the song was written by a woman. What, then, is the evidence in favour of Jean Adam? In the first place, Cromek claimed the song for her on the ground of strong local tradition-tradition lasting, as I know from recent inquiries made in Greenock, to this day. Cromek also stated in 1810, on the direct testimony of an old lady then living, Mrs. Fullarton, a former pupil of Jean Adam's, that she had

often heard Jean sing or repeat the song, prior to 1760, and claim it as her own. Mrs. Fullarton's daughter, Mrs. Crawford. confirmed this statement, and in a letter to Mrs. Fletcher, dated Ratho House, January 24, 1810, she wrote as follows: 'You may assure Mr. Cromek that the ballad, "There's nae Luck about the House," was written by Jean Adam on a couple in Crawford's-dyke (Greenock), the town where her father lived. I do not recollect that I ever heard her repeat it, but since I can remember anything I have always heard it being spoken of as being her composition by those she depended much upon. My aunt, Mrs. Crawford of Cartsburn, often sung it as a song of Jean Adam's,' Cromek withdrew the claim for Jean Adam when Sim told him he had found a manuscript copy of the song among Mickle's papers, but in doing so he acted too hastily, for the copy was imperfect, and, as Mr. David Laing points out, 'Such as a person might have written after having heard it sung.' Then, again, as Miss Tytler remarks with critical acumen, the scenery, the incidents, the expressions of the song, are thoroughly identified with the west coast of Scotland; so is the very name of the hero.' The hero and heroine, too, were popularly held in Greenock to be a couple named Colin and Jean Campbell who lived there, and who were known to be lovers-though married. Jean Adam's only volume of poems was published many years before this song was written, and latterly she was too poor to publish again, but the measure and rhythm of many of her other poems, as Motherwell says in his edition of Burns, 'are so like that of this song as forcibly to recall it to recollection, while nothing written by Mickle has the remotest resemblance to it.' That high authority, Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, also points out that 'it is very improbable that Mickle, who had a musical ear in poetry, could ever have made speak rhyme to greet.'

Taking all these facts and circumstances into account, and sifting and weighing the evidence as carefully as possible, no impartial critic can fail to conclude that 'There's nae luck' was certainly not written by Mickle, and that in all probability it was written by Jean Adam.

It is not my intention to compare English with Scottish songs, but it is interesting to note how many folk-songs of each nationality have been included by Mr. F. T. Palgrave in his Golden Treasury of Songs and Lurics. There are only four English songs that can properly be called folk-songs in this anthology, and they were written by great, or at least wellknown, poets. They are Marlowe's 'Come live with me and be my love: 'Ben Jonson's 'Drink to me only;' Gav's 'Blackeved Susan,' and Carey's 'Sally in our Alley,' Of Scottish folk-songs Mr. Palgrave gives twenty-most of them pathetic -besides about a dozen of Scott's and Campbell's that might almost be classed under this heading. The English songs reflect the light heart of the jovial Saxon of Merry England. In the Scottish songs, on the other hand, the Celtic nature-note is the dominant. Imagination, grief, passion, are the strings of the lyre on which the melody is played, and the music is the music of the heart. They are the voice of the race rather than of the individual who wrote them. The writer was 'the heir of all the ages' in a true sense, and voiced the feelings of generations as they became articulate in him or her.

J. A. DUNCAN.

SUMMARIES OF FOREIGN REVIEWS.

GERMANY.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN (No. IV., 1897).— This number is dedicated to the memory of Melanchthon, and is wholly taken up with articles on him-on the man, his history, his work, and the influence he exercised and has since exercised on the religious thought and life of Germany especially, but also on the world as a whole. The reason of this dedication to Melanchthon is that the four hundredth anniversary of his birth fell to be celebrated this year, and was celebrated with great enthusiasm at the University of Halle-Wittenberg, on the 16th of February. Two of the principal addresses that were then delivered occupy the first places here. The first was delivered by Dr. F. Loofs, who dealt with Melanchthon as a Humanist, and as a Religious Reformer. As a Humanist Melanchthon must be ever gratefully remembered. Called to be professor of Greek at Wittenberg, he gave a memorable and undying impulse to the study of the language and its literature, as also to Latin and letters generally. As leading up to his proof of this, Dr. Loofs sketches the condition of things intellectually on the eve of the Reformation. The dissolution of the old that was then proceeding was not as that of decay, but was the result of the fermenting of a young re-born life. New energies were awakening on every side; new forces were stirring everywhere in nations and in individuals, and claiming for themselves, and gradually creating for themselves, new conditions, and new forms in which to incarnate themselves, and through which to work. old forms of culture, and the old conceptions of piety, were equally insufficient for the intellectual and religious needs of Here and there research was bringing to light the treasures of ancient knowledge that had been lost for centuries, and to these the reawakened intellectual life was now greedily turning, and on them feeding and growing. contrast between the Latin of the Classic writers and that of the day began to be apprehended. Greek was beginning to be studied, and was inspiring curiosity. The crisis was ap-The Church was becoming apprehensive of proaching. danger, and was already beginning to take steps to guard itself against it. To some extent its efforts were successful in Italy, Spain, and France. In Germany it had less success.

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The Princes there were beginning to foresee the advantages likely to come to them from the new movement, and were encouraging the men engaged in it. Of the latter Rudolf Agricola and Reuchlin were the foremost. Their work was soon taken up by hosts of others, all inspired, however, by the love of letters alone. Melanchthon began his work in the same spirit. Being a nephew of the great Reuchlin, who interested himself in him from the first, he soon was fired with his uncle's love of letters and ambition. Dr. Loofs traces the influence of Luther on him, and shows the direction his work afterwards took. His estimate of the man, of the scholar, and of the reformer, is, of course, very high, but is tempered by caution. A genial man, Dr. Loof says, he was not; he was, however, a man of pre-eminent talent, comprehensive scholarship, of great versatility, and of healthiest influence.—The second Festrede here is that which was delivered by Dr. G. Kawerau. It deals more directly and fully with the relations that existed between Luther and Melanchthon, and the mutual influence they exercised on each other.—Dr. Albrecht contributes a series of studies based on Luther's pamphlet addressed to the 'Ratsherren aller Städte deutsches Lands,' regarding the institution and maintenance of Christian Schools. M. S. Berger, Paris, has a paper on Melanchthon's 'Vorlesungen über Weltge-Dr. Knaake furnishes a brief note on his 'Diction-Dr. Albrecht deals with a MS. notice of Melanchthon of date 1559. Professor Caro contributes 'Anekdotisches zu Melanchthon.' Dr. Otto Clemen, 'Miscellen zur Reformationsgeschichte; 'and Professor Kostlin, 'Luther's grabstätte in Wittenberg.

Deutsche Rundschau (August, 1897).— Schlimme Flitterwochen, a sketch of artist life by Helene Böhlau.— Results of the last Indian Census,' an interesting summary of details of population, sects, etc., by Prof. Julius Jolly .- Previs de Chavannes,' by Walter Gensel, with accounts of the principal works of this mural painter.—(September)—Opens with a somewhat sad sketch, 'Mamsell Biene,' by Ilse Frapan.-W. Bosche tells the life-story of Fechner, the nature-philosopher. -The member of the French Assembly J. J. Mounier's stay in Weimar, and his intercourse with Goethe, Schiller, and the rest, is described by P. von Bojanowski,—'A Mediæval Alpine Artist' is a very interesting account of the school which flourished in the Tyrol, and more especially of Michael Pacher, whose magnificent carved and painted altar-pieces were executed toward the end of the 15th century.—The remaining contributions deal with literary and political subjects .-

(October, 1897).—With this part the Rundschau enters on its twenty-fourth year. The place of honour is given to one of those short stories which seem to have taken the place of the serials, 'die Waidfrau.'- 'Die Hohe Tatra' describes scenes in the Carpathians.—C. Freiherr von der Goltz, formerly Inspector General of Military Instruction in Turkey, discusses that country's strength and weakness. He shows that there are great possibilities in the country. Public spirit is forming. The recent 'losses' of territory are really a gain to a power whose possessions are too wide for the military forces at its command. Among other things the writer advocates the removal of the capital to Asia, and quotes a saying of Fuad Pasha, the former Grand Vizier. A gathering of diplomats was discussing which was the strongest State in Europe. Fuad kept his own counsel, until, being pressed, he answered, 'Turkey, for we Turks have been labouring at our own ruin for centuries and have not succeeded yet.'—Other contributions deal with memoirs of Brahms, a recent performance of Aeschylus' Agamemnon in Berlin, etc.

RUSSIA.

ROOSKAHYAH MYSL.—Russian Opinion—(June, July, August, and September).—As we have not before mentioned the fact explicitly, it is as well to say that each number of the Rooskahyah Mysl is divided into three distinct parts, with separate pagination, the first being the imaginative portion, consisting of poetry, tales, and lengthened romances, which in the present four numbers varies from 186 to 228 pages; the second being the practical, scientific, and historical portion, varying from 178 to 208 pages; and the third the critical or 'Bibliographic Division, varying from 48 to 56 pages. In the present numbers 'Poesy' leads off in Part I. with a continuation of Prometheus Unbound, acts 3 and 4 of a lyrical drama by Percy Bysshe Shelley, translated by K. D. Balmont; two translations from the Polish poet, Victor Gomoulitski, by Michael Garbanofski; a 'Letter to Joakeim Leleval,' of 232 verses, by J. G. Korolenko; 'Autumn,' in three pieces, by N. Vilde (? Wilde); and 'The Shaft,' from Victor Hugo,' by Vladimir Lahdyzhenski. In our last notice we omitted to state that the lyrical drama, 'Prometheus Unbound,' in four acts, was a translation from the English.—A selection 'From the Letters of Ivan Tourghenieff' to Madame Sophia Konstantinovna Kaveline, daughter of Konstantine Dimitrievitch Kaveline, will be read with interest by all admirers of that charming writer. The several letters range from 1871 to 1877,

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and are written one each from Moscow and London (30 Devonshire Place, Portland Place, Friday 14 [2], April, 1871), and five from Paris.—'A Tale of Years Gone By,' by P. Zasodimski, is complete in 122 pages. It deals with Russian life only.—'The Crusaders,' an historical romance by Henry Senkevitch, translated from the Polish by V. M. Lavroff, runs its continued course also to 122 pages, but shows no sign of coming to an end.—'Provincial Mire,' a stupid French tale with a questionable title, from the pen of Camille Verniola, runs to 97 pages, and is unfinished .- Of 'Whirling Years,' from the writer's recollections, by P. A. Saloff, we have 78 pages, to be continued.—'An Equitable Marriage' (Les justes Noces), a romance by Andre Morel, translated from the French, and 'Then was Early Spring,' by A. R. Krandiefski,' are complete in the July and August numbers.—'Nego,' a short tale from the Polish of G. Danilefski, translated by the editor, V. M. L.; 'Misha,' a domestic tale, by S. Elpatyefski; 'Ona,' a tale from a lost scrap-book (tetradi), by N. A. Annenkoff-Bernard; 'The Children of General Granoff,' a tale by M. N. Remezoff; and 'Sieur Gabriel,' a tale translated from the Norwegian of Amalie Skram by O. A., are each complete in a single number. But though comparatively short these five tales run into 158 pages, of which no fewer than 53 are occupied by the last-named.—Part II. contains 'Normal Peasant Banks, by L. S. Litchkoff, which article seemed to close in May, but has really come to an end in the June number.— Also 'National Education in the Government of Tchernigoff,' which is discussed by V. Khizhniakoff in two numbers; 'A Voyage to Mecca, by the French Mussulman, Courtellemon, translated by M. N. R.; 'Observations on the Circle of National Poets, by I. I. Ivanoff; 'The National Schools of Denmark,' by P. Hansen; 'Outlines of Provincial Life,' in three fresh instalments, by I. I. Ivanyoukoff; 'The Question of Population in France, by S. An—ski; 'The Russian Archæological Institute at Constantinople,' and the first year of its activity. by L. Mseriantsa; 'Neapolitan Impressions,' by Victor Fausek, in two papers; 'On the Antique Motives of the Productions of Henry Senkevitch,' by Th. G. Mishchenka; 'Tragedic Ideals,' a tribute by P. S. Kogan to the memory of Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, the celebrated author of Don Quixote, the 350th anniversary of whose birth occurs on the 9th of the present October; 'The Contemporary French Village,' by Eugene Sheminon; 'Thirty Years in the Service of the Nation,' a schoolmaster's experience, by Victor Ostroghorski; 'Some Words concerning Women, by Princess Ekaterine Koudasheff; Women's Co-operative Guild in England, by Ivan Ozeroff;

'International Art Exhibition in Venice,' by I. I. Ivanoff; Byzantine Epic Poetry,' a review of Gustave Schlumberger's work entitled L'Epopée Byzantine à la fin du divieme siècle, by Th. I. Ouspenski; 'French Decentralization,' by V. V. Ivanofski; and 'Contemporary Dutch Literature,' by L.—'Home Review' is exceptionally full, excepting in the August number, which tells the usual tale, to those who know, that there is no Russian news to be looked for in the torrid month of July.—'Foreign Review,' by our old friend, V. A. Goltseff, has, however, no break, Greek and Turkish affairs keeping the political world in full occupation.—Part III., or the 'Bibliographic Division,' contains notices of 150 works, mostly Russian, a few German and French, but none in English.

RUSSIAN PHILOSOPHICAL REVIEW (Voprosi, Philosophii i Psychologii, No. 37)—opens with a paper by M. Alexander Vvedenski on 'The Atheism in the Philosophy of Spinoza.' Our author begins by admitting that in the majority of instances, it is not admitted that the doctrines of Spinoza, as they are conclusively expounded in his Ethic, are really Atheistic; on the contrary, he so continually speaks of God that his doctrine on this point is fully opposed to Atheism. Yet it is agreed by all to name his philosophy Pantheism, a doctrine which upholds the immanence of God in the world, Pantheism, moreover, it must be admitted, is not the same with Atheism. Besides it is fully consequent, not to look upon certain other doctrines as Atheistic, which, like Spinoza's, annihilate the conception of God, while at the same time, they accept the designation of the Divine Being as a term. Finally, all do not go so far. For example, Ueberweg, in speaking of Spinoza, expresses himself after the following fashion. 'That it is not in any way possible to explain away the word, God; nevertheless there is something foreign in it, when taken as a substance. If He is a personal Being as the Creator of the world, with unconditional power, wisdom and goodness, it is a justification of Theism. If not such a Being. then it is the duty of the honourable thinker either to profess Atheism, or to admit that his presentation of God is a fiction, and to replace it scientifically, for example, as a conception of eternal world-order, or to enter upon theological questions not otherwise, than as historical.' But in this article the writer has in view the chief form of the views circulated in his own society, and strives to show that the doctrine of Spinoza, in the name of logic, ought to be regarded as Atheistic (although that is not to say that Spinoza himself was an Atheist), and explain how his doctrine comes to have such a character, and

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how, nevertheless, it cannot be said that Spinoza himself was properly speaking an Atheist. The truth appears to be that while Spinoza was never personally an Atheist, yet, by following Descartes, and identifying God and substance as he really does, he both deceived himself and his readers, by adopting an Atheistic monism of substance as an equivalent of God, which he consciously or unconsciously seeks to cover by making frequent use of substance as an equivalent of God, which it really is not. To use a quotation from M. Vvedenski himself, descriptive of Spinoza, this deception of himself and others, in other words, in the development of his philosophy, he shows himself to be without the concept of God, while at the same time, he is always making use of the name of the Divine Being as an ornament of his terminology for the designation of substance.—In the second article by M. Tchicherin on the 'Nature and Methods of Idealism,' the author begins by referring to a series of articles by Prince S. H. Trubetskoi on the 'Foundations of Idealism,' which have been referred to in preceding summaries, and in which he endeavoured to determine those positive results which were borne to philosophical science by German Idealism in the first half of the present century. The question is a wide one and important in the highest degree. The questions which the author brought up referred to the roots of human thought. They comprehended the methods of knowledge and the very contents of thought. They could not but draw upon themselves the attention of all seriously occupying themselves with philosophy. If it were only by the exchange of thought and the united labour of men in the search after truth, philosophical science could be placed on a firmer basis, that which constitutes one of its most Further progress is only possible fundamental necessities. when the main questions stand on unshaken bases; when each philosopher builds his system on the grounds of his own personal views and thoughtful pre-suppositions, otherwise philosophy cannot be described as an objective science. The writer refers to the imperfection of the exposition of the author's views and the development of his thought. He enumerates three separate sources of misapprehension and mistake in Prince Trubetskoi's articles, and goes on to point out grounds of misunderstanding as to the positions of Kant, of Fitchte, and of Schelling, and finally of Hegel, who affirmed that pure Being and Non-being are one and the same, and that the great essential matter to be regarded is spirit developing itself through contradictory determinations. From some passages of the scattered articles, it is possible to conclude that the author has in view Hegel's Phenomenology of Spirit, which

actually begins from this position; but the Phenomenology is not an exposition of the idealistic philosophy but a description of the successive developments of human thought from the coarsest Empiricism to the most abstract conceptions. The results of this lengthened critique of Prince Serge Trubetskoi's 'Nature and Methods of Idealism' are thus summed up: The author has attempted to conceive in some measure an outline of all the varied forms and the whole fulness of Being. Such a problem, demanding a special combination of intellect and experience, is incomparably more complex and difficult than the purely intellectual construction of a one-sided system. It is impossible to reproach the author, as to this, in his various writings, that he has not fulfilled it. It is impossible to accuse him of having expressed himself insufficiently. But he obviously varies from different points of view. Criticising Hegel, he, as we have seen, finally himself occupies the purely Hegelian point of view. To this tends also his polemic against the independent existence of the material world, and equally the denial of the independent development of logical thought, as a one-sided and therefore insufficient element. In this his idealism goes even further than Hegel's. But while he tends to carry all to the highest ideal, on it hangs the chains of a realistic world-conception and expressly in the spiritual character of its form. And to him behind matter wavers the shadow of the subject, but a subject wanting in independence; of realistic philosophers, in him is reflected more than all traces of Schopenhauer and Hartmann, i.e., of those who sink the subject in the bottomless gulf of unconscious Being; nevertheless, also this unconscious being does not satisfy him. He seeks an exit into faith, but also faith in its turn shows itself incapable of supporting him. In such fashion we see a constant transition from one point of view to another, but we do not see a clear and complete world-conception, which should bind in one all these separate elements of thought. Concerning this, testifies the very admission of irresponsible faith as the service of knowledge. It constitutes usually the refuge of persons who are not given to research in philosophical problems. Even such great spirits as Pascal have sought in them rest from the scepticism that was storming in upon them. It was skilful in the present disturbed condition of philosophical thought, with the complexity and difficulty of the scientific problems set before him, for him to come and profit by this refuge. Alas! if one could give rest to the spirit of man, then it would be in a condition to satisfy the demands of science which before all seeks clearness of thought and exactitude of deduction. We have, nevertheless, full grounds to believe

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that the author will remain where he is. His broad knowledge, his love of labour, his lively and serious interest in philosophical thought; his disposition not to rest in the lesser researches of psychological phenomena, but to state problems in all their breadth, gives us a guarantee that he will endeavour if not to resolve the problems which do not present themselves as possible for other thinkers, that he will at least strive to come nearer to their resolution, and to illuminate the path which leads to it. - The article following upon this is on 'Concepts of the Mind and Psychical Energy in Psychology.' The author, the late editor of the journal, N. A. Grote, is convinced that contemporary Psychology has not yet attained to the dignity of a science, but is only a system of observations and concepts of concrete experiences not as yet bound into an organic whole by general laws and uniform principles. he believes can only be reached experimentally, and he points to the labours of Wundt in this direction, which have already been rendered into Russ. The author in this article seeks to review what has been done in this direction from Plato and Aristotle through Descartes and his successors, etc. From this our author, after referring to H. Spencer and his doctrine as to psychical evolution and processes of integration and differentiation, goes on to deal with the doctrines of Wilhelm Ostvaldt, the Professor of Chemistry in Leipsic, as to energy in all its forms. Further on, Professor Grote takes up a more difficult task, viz., to subject to analysis, the conception of psychical energy in connection with the conception of energy in general, and with the doctrine concerning it, of Physical Science. part of the problem is strictly critical, as also the general physical doctrine concerning energy in its present form, cannot fully satisfy the logically thoughted philosopher, nor satisfy unconditionally the naturalists themselves, as the doctrine of Ostvaldt shows.—The next article in order, by M. Gilyaroff, resumes an article continued from the last number on 'Anticipatory thought of the death of our Age in France.' As these are detached thoughts of a literary or philosophical character they do not readily lend themselves to representation in a summary.—Finally, in the general division of the journal we have a continuation of the 'Outlines of the Development of Philosophical Thought in the Epoch of the Renaissance, by M. Korelin, which occupies itself mainly with the World-Conception of Francesco Petrarch. The subjects treated of are the Ethical views of Petrarch and his relation to Asceticism. His views of Nature and Life, the character of his pessimism and tendency to solitariness. The relation of

Petrarch to the physical and spiritual nature of man, and his views on the family, monarchy, and property. This is continued in relation to many other subjects, and ends with a review of the general character and historical significance of the World-Conception of Francesco Petrarch.—In the special part of the journal there follows a lengthened article on the 'Foundations of Machiavellianism,' succeeded by an article as to what is an 'Introduction to Philosophy.'—Further on we have a lengthened article by Prince Serge Trubetskoi in defence of Idealism, in answer to the attack of M. Tchicherin.—The number concludes the usual reviews and bibliography.

ITALY.

NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (July 1).—Under the title of 'A Glorious Reign, K. gives a brief sketch of the chief events of the Victorian period, and describes the joy and pride with which the Britannic nation celebrated Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee. -The well-known novelist Gerolamo Rovetta begins a story entitled 'The Idol.'-The present instalment of 'Courts and Princes of the House of Savoy,' describes events from 1814 to 1859.—E. Castelnuovo, another of Italy's best-liked romancists. contributes a 'Fantasy' called 'The Fortunate Isle,'-G. Boglietti contributes the second and concluding part of his essay on 'Socialism in France.'—In a long and learned article, G. Mestica traces the political views contained in the works of Vittorio Alfieri.-M. Tortelli gives an account of the successful discovery of the microbe of yellow fever by Doctor Sanarelli. About two years ago Sanarelli was called by the Government of Uruguay to found and direct a cabinet of experimental hygiene at Montevideo. He gladly obeyed the call, and soon had founded a scientific establishment which could bear comparison with the best in Europe. Besides his general work, Dr. Sanarelli had set his mind on discovering the cause of the He devoted eighteen months of study to his yellow fever. subject, and claims to have succeeded in his researches. He procured the material for his experiments from the Isle of Flores and from Rio Janeiro. At the lazzaretto on the Isle of Flores, at the entrance to the La Plata river, he erected a small laboratory, and began his experiments during the summer months on the sick persons coming into quarantine from the ports of Brazil, and on the corpses of those who succumbed to the terrible malady. When he returned to his laboratory at Montevideo he carried with him the secret of the yellow fever microbe. Later on he made another laboratory at Rio Janeiro, in the Saint Sebastian Hospital, when he himself

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contracted the malady he was studying, but in a mild form. He found the vellow fever microbe in the blood and tissues of the patients, but never contrary to what had been thought. in the gastric-intestinal cavity of patients or corpses. vellow fever microbe, according to Dr. Sanarelli, is a small bacillus—a fine and short little stick, with rounded extremities. generally found in couples under culture, and in groups in human tissues. This microscopic little stick is from two thousand to four thousand of a millimetre long, and half that It can be cultivated pretty well in the ordinary vehicles used for other microbes, but thrives best on the gelatine called agar-agar. Here it grows abundantly, and makes colonies, even at a low temperature (200), and assumes a characteristic aspect. By means of this culture, Dr. Sanarelli was able to produce in domestic animals all the symptoms observed in human patients afflicted with yellow fever. Dr. Sanarelli finds that the yellow fever microbe is one of the most poisonous that exists. It still remains to be proved whether inoculation can render the human body proof against its attacks.—The success of Eleonore Duse in Paris forms the subject of remarks by the art critic E. Bontet .- (July 16) .- A. Mossi contributes a chapter from his forthcoming work, The portion here printed Physiology of Man on the Alps. The author considers all sorts treats of nervous exhaustion. of fatigue, whether physical or mental, as the result of exhaustion of the nervous system. - L. Rava tells the history of 'The famous Pine-forest of Ravenna.'-Dr. Mantegazza relates 'Recent Events in Bulgaria,' and opines that that country will exercise great influence on Eastern events.- E. Mancini describes Marconi's apparatus for telegraphing without wires; and E. G. Boner sends a pleasant paper on 'The Poetry of the Heavens among the Ancients, -E. Arbib reports the year's doings in the Italian Parliament.—E. Checchi discourses on 'The Popularity of the Theatre in Italy.'-U. Ojetli reviews de la Sizeranne's Ruskin et la religion de la beauté.—(August 1). -This number contains 'Art and Progress,' by Professor Panzacchi, who foresees that the present period of laborious literary indecision will soon be past, and that the movement commenced in the last century, and so desired by Manzoni, will be triumphantly continued and completed .- R. Bonfadini contributes a paper, 'From the Baltic to the North Sea.'-M. Scherillo writes on 'The Troubadour, Bertram del Borneo.'-D. Ciampoli sends a most interesting article on 'Nicola Alessievich Nekrasow,' the Russian 'poet of the humble,' with many quotations from his works.—E. G. Boner's learned talks on The Poetry of the Heavens among the Ancients, treats of

stars and constellations.'-G. Grandi gives a sketch of Monte Catini; and L. Capocci discourses of 'Italian Politics in Africa,' -(August 16)—G. B. Guarini writes on 'The Meeting of the Two Emperors at St. Petersburg in Relation to the Eastern Question.'- (September 1) .- From the veteran romancist, Antonio Foggazzaro, there is here a notable critical article on Rosmini and his work, pointing out that Rosmini's writings contain a wealth of precious things, the treasure being difficult to get at, but yielding to the research of vigorous minds. order to continue Rosmini's work it is necessary for his disciples to prepare themselves at places where the national life is most intense. Foggazzaro supports the wish of the late Professor Ferrari that a chair of Rosminian philosophy should be instituted at the Padua University.-G. Rovetta continues his serial romance, entitled 'The Idol,' written in a dialogue style novel to Italy.—Professor De Gubernatis sends an interesting paper on 'King Oscar's Jubilee.'-P. Molmenti contributes an essay on 'Various Ancient Friulian Chronicles.'-The paper by M. Scherillo on 'Dante and Bertram del Borneo' is concluded; as is also Jessie White Mario's 'Descriptions of the Italian Penitentiary System.' She concludes: 'Italy will descend from the sad post she now holds, on the scale of delinquency, and re-acquire her rank among civilized nations, as soon as she feels the shame and humiliation of her present Then only can she unite her forces, and guide her energies to a fixed aim; then, when she has gained her political redemption, she will also victoriously regain her moral regeneration.'-Valetti contributes a monograph on Donizetto. -(September 16).-G. Gadia sends an important paper on 'Rom-capital' and the 'Sanza-Sella Ministry,' from the still inedited 'Political Records' of 1866-67 .- T. Massarani, in the first instalment of a paper on 'The Venice Exhibition of Fine Arts,' has a word to say in praise of the 'sweetness and grace' of English exhibitors.—L. Nocentini describes the situation of Europe in the extreme East after the Franco-Russian alliance. -G. Faldella contributes youthful memories of the two scientific men, Galileo and Adam Ferraris.-A. G. Barrili writes an interesting paper on 'Gabriel Chiabrera, Man and Poet.'

RASSEGNA NAZIONALE (July 1st).—G. Cimbali sends a long article on the female schools in Rome and Florence.—G. H. Cavalletti concludes his paper on Shakespeare.—G. Rocchi describes the origin and cause of the present Catholic movement in Italy.—G. Denti writes on 'The Ministry and Sunday Trains' in a sketch form.—(July 16th).—A. Zardo contributes an appreciative article on the German poet Chamisso.—General

Pagano has an important paper on inundations in Italy, the damage they cause, the reason of their existence, and the remedies to be recommended.—G. C. Carrarese describes a newly discovered piece of ancient sculpture which has been deposited in the suburban church of Arcetri.—G. Faloni has a paper entitled 'Love and Hate.'-Signora Fortini-Santaella contributes a translation from the English called 'The Secret Marriage' without giving the author's name.—(August 1st)-Here is an interesting memoir of Maria Gonzaga-Gonzaga, by G. B. Intra.—' Notes on Luigi Crampolini, by G. B. Prunaj.'— 'St. Bonaventura at Paris, Student and Doctor,' by Teresa Venuti.- 'Signs of the Times: A Pastoral Letter,' by the Bishop of Cremona.—'The Autobiography of a Veteran: General della Rocca,' by Ugo Pesce.—'Hamlet and Don Quixote,' by G. Navoni, apropos of Ferri's book on Criminals in Art .- (August 16th) .- Senator Faldella contributes a pleasant sketch of intellectual and patriotic work in Turin, particularly of the last fifty years.—Dr. Astori, of Parma, discourses at length on religious teaching, insisting on the inculcation of morals from the religious point of view. He opines that no high ideals of progress can do good without religious faith.—L. d'Isengard resuscitates a forgotten Italian poet of the beginning of the century, giving several examples of his The poet is Guiseppe Gando of Genoa.—S. Minocchi contributes a learned review of recent Oriental and Biblical study.—(September 1st)—R. Ferrini describes the Marconi system of telegraphy.—The statistician Professor B. Salvioni has a pleasant paper on Tuscan names. He classifies 3600 names under the heads of common names; romantic; qualitative (women only); Greek, or of Greek origin; Roman, or of Latin origin; of German origin; and sundry. After the common names, the largest contingents is afforded by Roman or Greek names.—R. Giannelli discusses Sicily and the civil commissariate.—(September 16th).—C. Bassi has here a review of Goth's 'Life of Baron Ricasole.'-E. Salaris writes on national education and the army.-L. Venturini contributes an historical paper on the death of Germanicus.-G. Grabinsky reviews various memoirs of General Trochu,—Senator Rossi contributes notes on political economy.

NAPOLI NOBILISSIMA (July).—B. Croce has here an article on the German painter Tischbein, who was director of the Art Academy of Naples in the last century. There are numerous extracts from the memoirs of the painter, with curious particulars about the art-teaching of the time, the elegant society, and the revolution of 1799. The pages concerning the young

princess of Monaco during her sojourn in Naples are specially attractive. As known, she was later one of the victims of the French Terror. There are two other articles on frescos in Naples churches, and a series of sonnets of 1500 and 1600, written on works of art then existing in Naples.—(August).—Contains: 'The epitaph on the Mercato and the fountain of the Sellaria,' by Professor Capasso, with new episodes about Massaniello.—'Astroni,' by N. del Pezzo.—'The Corporation of Sculptors of Naples,' by G. Ceci.

EMPORIUM (July).—Here is an interesting article by B. on the Belgian painter G. Max Stevens, with numerous reproductions of his works.—The next paper, on contemporaneous art, is a 'reminiscence,' by G. Carotti, of the Triennial Exhibition of Fine Arts at the Brera Academy.-Follows an unsigned description of Japanese theatres, well illustrated.—Dr. Orlensi contributes a description of the Lustrumfeesten of Utrecht.-S. di Giacomo gives an account of the Hermitage of S. Angelo in Formis, half an hour's drive distant from the town of Santamaria di Capua, on the line from Rome to Naples. There are interesting paintings and frescos in the church, and near by the ancient amphitheatre.—Then we have a free translation of J. Broome's 'Lightning in Photography and its Effects,' with excellent illustrations.—Dr. G. A. contributes a description of the monument to William I. by Begas. -A. G. describes the University of Leipzig.

RIVISTA ABRUZZESE (Year 12, No. 1)—contains important historic and artistic notes on the Cathedral of Atri, which was built early in the twelfth century, often restored since, and contains frescoes of two periods, namely, from about 1250 to 1350, when the painters were natives of the place; and after that period, when other artists, the most prominent being Andrea of Lecce, contributed to the decoration of the cathedral.—There is another article by A. de Nino giving a list of notable edifices at the remote town of Campli in the Abruzzi, which, besides an ancient turretted gate of the time of the Aryons, can boast of many interesting old houses, churches, and a cathedral containing fine frescoes, altars, and chiselled crucifixes.

NATURA ED ARTE (July 16).—'Daughters of Artists.'—'On the Shore.'—'The Simplon Railway.'—'At Palermo—Crete.'—'The Vesuvian Drama.'—'Carlo Goldoni in France.'—'Ettore Tito.'—'A Donizetto Preludio.'—'Anecdotal History.'—'Literary Conversation.'—(August 1st.)—'Contemporaneous Art.'—'A Contemporaneous Romancist and a Contemporaneous Poet.'

— 'The Second Sicilian Vespers.'— 'The Library in Prisons.'— 'Danger.'— 'Memini.'— 'Munich.'— 'General della Rocca.'— 'The Orchards of Murano.'

ARCHIVIO STORICO PER LE PROVINCE NAPOLITANE (Year 22, No. 2).—Besides continuations of previous articles, we have here one on the census of the population of Naples from 1591 to 1595; and a paper by R. Bevere on 'Clothes and Jewels in use in the Neapolitan Province from the 12th to the 16th Centuries.'

RIVISTA ITALIANA DI FILOSOFIA (July, August)—contains: 'Christianity and Progress.'—'The Sacrifice of the Modern Conscience.'—'Plotmo's Cosmos Noctos in its Historic Position.'—In the pedagogal bulletin there is a laudatory notice of Andrew Seth's Man's Place in the Cosmos, saying that the book is acute and profound, and pointing out as particularly interesting the chapter on a new theory of the Absolute.

RASSEGNA PUGLIESE (July)—centains: 'Puglian Landscapes' (poetry), by C. Bertacchi, describing Foggia, Barri and Lecce in so many sonnets.—'The Diplomatic Code of Bari,' by L. Sylos.—'Tarentum,' verses by E. Ursoleo.—'The Sales of the Carbonari of Bari in 1820, 1821,' by G. de Ninno, continued in following numbers.—'Lunacy and Hypnotism,' by G. Giuliani, also to be continued.—'Always,' a short story by E. Alfieri.— Notes, etc.—(August).—'Vittorio Bóttego,' by Lieutenant Turano.—'Voltaire and Alfieri,' by G. Burgeda.—'Shak-speare or Bacon,' by F. Nitti di Vito.—'The Pair,' a story by F. Prudenzani.—(September).—'Dante Judged by a Socialist,' by G. Quercia.—'The Only School,' by Remo.—'The Problem of Pain in India,' founded on studies of Buddhism and other religions, by A. Marenduzzo.—'Madness and Hypnotism,' by G. Giuliani.

NAPOLI NOBILISSIMA (August)—contains: 'The Epitaph of the Mercato and the Fountain of the Sellaria,' by Professor Capasso.—'The Elysian Fields and Astroni,' by Professor del Pezzo.—'The Author of the Frescoes in St. Severino,' by Professor Croce.—'The Corporation of Sculptors and Marble-Workers,' by G. Ceci.

FRANCE.

REVUE DE L'HISTOIRE DES RELIGIONS (No. 3, 1897).—M. Maspero returns here to a theme which has long occupied his attention and often engaged his pen, viz., the funeral rites and ceremonies of the ancient Egyptians. Fresh light has been shed on them by some recent discoveries, and by a better

appreciation of the texts bearing upon them on the part of Egyptologists. M. Maspero acknowledges the great importance of Professor Dumichen's more recent investigations into this subject, the results of which he has given in his magnificent work. Der Grabpalast des Patuamenemap. Owing to this fresh light and these and his own studies it is necessary, he thinks, to now revise the opinions he formerly expressed, and to correct them in accordance with our better knowledge of the whole subject. This he proposes to do in the pages of this Revue. The first part appears here. The title under which he writes is 'La table d'offrandes des tombeaux égyptiens.' The text which he makes the basis of his study is that from the tomb of Ti. In all the tombs of Memphis a table appears at which the person entombed there, and in whose honour it was raised, is represented as seated and as partaking of the viands placed on the table before him. Under the table is frequently seen a short inscription stating that the bread. cakes, fowls, etc., are provided in thousands. Over the table is a rectangular tableau containing a list of most of the objects represented on the table, and indicating the rites observed in the funeral ceremonies. It is divided into registers, and these again into cases by means of vertical lines which cut at right angles the others. Each case is divided into two or three compartments, one above another. The upper one contains the name of an object, or designates a rite. The next gives a sign of measurement, stating the quantity of the object named, or the number of times the rite has to be performed; and the next the name of the person to whom the gift is made, or for whom the rite is performed. There is often too a picture, or a pictorial representation, of the priests charged with the performance of the ceremonies, and engaged in them; also of the slaves carrying flagons or vessels with food; and of the musicians who gratify the dead with their melodious strains. These texts form both a menu of the feast and a ritual of the service. M. Maspero enters into the details of both very fully, so far as this section of his paper goes .- M. I. Goldziher follows with a paper on the true meaning of the phrase 'Shadow of God, 'Khalife of God' as applied to the political and spiritual heads or chiefs of the Islam or Moslem faith. title is given not only to powerful sovereigns but to petty kinglets, and in every language spoken by Mohammedans. It is a very strange title to be given to anyone by a Moslem, so strict a believer in the immateriality of the Supreme Being. How did it originate? and what does it mean? It was first applied to the power that was invested in, and exercised by, the Moslem chiefs. Under the protection of that power

one was as under the shadow or protection of God. The chief was the representative of the justice of God. They who relied on him were as safe as if they had relied on God Himself. By a common degeneracy of language the phrase came to be used not only for the judicial function of the chief, but for the chief's person. The history of this usage is traced by M. Goldziher in a clear and convincing way in the literature of Islam.—The reviews of books and the 'Bibliographie,' with the 'Revue des Periodiques,' take up a considerable part of this number. Several English works are dealt with in detail. We may instance, The Sacred Tree, by Mrs. Philpot, which is reviewed by no less an authority on folk-lore than M. Mariller: Koptos, by W. M. Flinders Petrie; and Nagada and Balas, by Mr. Petrie and J. E. Quibell-are reviewed by M. Amélineau: A Record of the Buddhist Religion as practised in India and the Malay Archipelago, is also noticed; and Mr. Joseph Jacobs' Jewish Ideals.

REVUE DE L'HISTOIRE DES RELIGIONS (No. 4, 1897).— M. G. Maspero continues and concludes here his article on 'La table d'offrande des tombeaux égyptiens.' He describes the various viands and beverages represented on the table in presence of the dead, and which are named in the cartes or menus on the wall, and details the manner in which they were to be They were not presented to the defunct in the order in which they appear on the table, but in the order in which he might himself arrange, and ask the servitors for them. The formulae recited by those officiating, with their accompanying ceremonies, were in reality magical incantations, and were supposed to endow the food presented with nutritive and sustaining qualities. The portrayal of all that was considered to give perpetuity to the funeral feast and ceremonial, and so secure the comfort of the deceased even when the time should come when his relatives had all ceased to exist, and his memory had faded from the generations coming after them. customs date from a very early period, and were continued with but little alteration of detail up to very late times.—M. Etienne Aymonier, under the title, 'Cambodge et ses monuments,' gives a brief account of the present state of the ruins of temples, etc., found in Koh-Ker and Phnom Sandar, and especially of the temple Prasat Preah Vihear. Jayavarman IV., of Cambodia, removed his capital in 928 of our era, on his accession to the throne, to Chok Gargyar-corrupted afterwards to Koh-Ker-and adorned his new seat with spacious buildings of various kinds, and of course with temples. He only reigned fourteen years, and his youngest son, who succeeded him, two years. The oldest son then ascended the throne, and he immediately went back to the old capital. Koh-Ker consequently speedily fell into neglect and ruin, but the ruins are full of interest, and have been explored and described by several travellers and scholars in recent times. Several inscriptions, sadly impaired by time, have been made the subject of study by more than one of the latter. M. Aymonier here describes the most important of these ruins and the best preserved, and endeavours to bring out, at least, the gist of what the inscriptions were intended to commemorate or set forth. Only those, of course, having any religous interest are dealt with here.—An elaborate examination follows from the pen of Dr. L. Knappert, of Professor Wolfgang Golther's recent work, Handbuch der germanischen Mythologie. The translation of Dr. Kuappert's paper has been made by M. Jean Reville, for the pages of this Revue. Dr. Knappert describes the purpose he has in view in this article as an effort to show the place which Professor Golther's work occupies in the history of the study of German mythology, and to note its salient characteristics. It is not intended to be a review. much less a critical review, of the book as a whole. Dr. Knappert speaks, however, of the work in terms of high praise as one of the most noteworthy of modern contributions to the subject with which it deals. It furnishes, he thinks, the richest collection of data bearing on the subject yet published, and is a work whose critical results must profoundly modify the future course of all investigations made into it. Professor Golther, it seems, analysis very minutely the myths, and legends, and customs, etc., which have been commonly regarded as native to the Germanic race, and has shown that very little of these is truly of native origin, but has been due rather to the infiltration of ancient Christian, Scandinavian, Finnish, and other conceptions.—The shorter book reviews are numerous, and the summaries of periodicals, dealing with matters germane to the discipline to which this Revue is devoted, are also of a somewhat cosmopolitan order.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES (July, August, September).—The first of the numbers before us opens with the initial instalment of an historical and political study by M. Albert Sorel. The general title is 'L'Europe et le Directoire.' The Congress of Rastadt and the cession of the left bank of the Rhine; the tributary Republics: Sieyès's mission to Berlin; the second coalition; and the Neapolitan Republic, are the subjects successively dealt with, and bring the narrative down to the declaration of war to Austria in 1799.—Another political article

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is contributed by M. Charles Benoist, who, in 'La Révolte des Philippines et les Mœurs Politiques de l'Espagne,' endeavours to decide whether, in dealing with her refractory colonies, it would be best for Spain to abide by the statu quo, to adopt a progressive policy, or to inaugurate one of reaction. he looks upon as impracticable, as proved by the rebellion; the second he rejects as chimerical. There consequently remains but the third, which consists in leaving to a race, still in its infancy, institutions suited to it, and in not attempting to impose upon it the forms of modern western civilisation.— Continuing the 'Essais de Littérature Pathologique,' Arvède Barine passes from opium to alcohol, from De Quincey to Edgar Poe. The study is not yet concluded, but it may be seen from the first instalment that the writer intends to deal very severely with Poe's countrymen for their treatment of him.—'Les Ruines de Palmyre et leur Récent Explorateur,' which is by M. Eugène Guillaume, is less concerned with M. Bertone, who is the recent explorer referred to, than with The results of his investigations are, it is true, indicated, but the main object is rather to relate once more the romantic story of Zenobia.—A very interesting contribution to the number, dated August 1, is M. Bonet-Maury's 'Les Universités d'Ecosse.' It opens with a sketch of the intimate academical connection between Scotland and France. From that it goes on to indicate the difference between the origin of the universities of St. Andrews, Glasgow, and Aberdeen, on the one hand, and that of Edinburgh on the other. The actual organisation is gone into with some details; and, in conclusion. the benefits to be derived from a closer connection between the universities of modern Scotland and modern France are pointed out.—In the same number, M. Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu traces the social transformations that have taken place in contemporary Russia; M. Victor Du Bled gives a sketch of Berryer's career, based on the works of his recent biographers; and M. Valbert considers Prince Bismarck in his enforced retirement. The matter contained in the first of the two September numbers is exceptionally solid, not to use a harsher term. There is scarcely a light element in it, apart from the two serials, one of which is a very weird production by M. Gilbert Augustin-Thierry, entitled 'Le Stignate;' the other a story of the Franco-German war by MM. Paul and Victor Margueritte. Of the other articles, that which M. Eugene Ritter devotes to Jean-Jacques Rousseau is the lightest.—Protestant Germany is studied by M. George Goyan, who indicates the antagonism between the official Churches and the Dissenters.-M. Charles Benoist writes sympathetically of Senor Canovas del Castillo:

and M. Geffroy traces the transformation of Rome into a modern capital.—' Qui exploitera la Chine,' by M. René Pinon, is a political article. The tone in which it is written may be understood from a few words taken from the writer's concluding paragraph: 'In the Far-East, as all over the world, the interest of England is to foster quarrels and to provoke conflicts; ours is to prevent and appease them. To magnify Russian progress in the eyes of the Japanese, to excite their jealousy, to drive them into a quarrel which would inevitably throw them into the arms of Eugland, such is the aim of British policy.'—A very readable article by M. Emile Michel shows Rubens under a new light as a diplomatist, and gives an account of the missions in which he was engaged at the same time that he was finishing, in the Luxembourg palace, the portraits devoted to the history of Mary de Medici.

REVUE SEMITIQUE D'EPIGRAPHIE ET D'HISTOIRE ANCIENNE (No. 3, 1897).—Under the familiar rubric, 'Recherches Bibliques, M. J. Halévy resumes his examination of the recently discovered fragment of the Hebrew text of Ecclesiasticus. The introduction to this study was given in last number, and the story of the discovery of the MSS, was briefly told. The Hebrew text itself was also given, and to that was added a series of critical notes, and some emendations of the text were suggested. We have here now the translation of the text as there corrected. Next we have a series of critical and historical notes, and here M. Halévy, as all competent critics seem to do, expresses his belief that this fragment furnishes conclusive proof that Ecclesiasticus was written in Hebrew, and that the Septuagint version is a translation, and a somewhat late translation from it. M. Halévy seeks also to determine the date when it was written. Was, he asks, the translator really the grandson of Ben-Sirach? The word pappos means not only grandfather, but ancestor in general. Now Ben-Sirach speaks in terms of highest praise of the high priest, Simon, son of Onias. He speaks of him too as a contemporary whose life and character were well known to him. But there were two high priests named Simon, and each was the son of an Simon II. lived about the beginning of the second century. Of him, however, history records nothing to justify the high praise bestowed by Ben-Sirach on his contemporary of that name. Simon I., on the other hand, lives for ever in Jewish annals because of his high character, and memorable deeds. He was called the Just, so highly was he esteemed by all who knew him. He lived a hundred years earlier than Simon II. May not he be the Simon spoken of XXX.

by the author of this book? To determine this M. Halévy proceeds to examine the Greek version in order to discover what indications that gives of the distance of time which had elapsed between the author and his translator. He demonstrates that the distance of time must have been very con-The corruptions that had already, prior to the translation being taken in hand, crept into the original text were numerous, and must have required some considerable time to have done so. It must have been frequently copied, and this copyist and that must have blundered. Many of the mistakes appearing in the Greek version can only be accounted for if this had taken place. The translator's errors in translation are also most naturally accounted for if he was removed by a considerable space of time from that when the work itself was composed. The examination of the Septuagint version is carried out here in a most minute and convincing way. M. Halévy continues then his revision of his translation of the Tel-el-Amarna Correspondence. His translation of that correspondence appeared in the pages of this Revue, but a more minute study of it has led him to alter some of the renderings he then gave. and to change, of course, the views he had then come to on some points as to the correspondence itself. He is revising his translation and giving the necessary explanations before publishing the revised work by itself.—M. F. Thureau Dangin gives the text and translation, accompanied with explanatory notes, of an inscription lately found at Niffer, by the American Expedition, and which has been published by Professor Hilprecht, of Philadelphia. The inscription is that of a king of Uruk, Lougalzaggisi. It was originally inscribed on a hundred vases, the fragments of some of them only having been as yet unearthed. It consisted of three parts. In the first the king narrated his elevation to the throne; in the second he enumerated his sacerdotal offices, and the buildings which he had erected, in various parts of his dominions; in the third was the prayer of the king to the god, Enlil, and to him was the inscription dedicated. It has been wonderfully well recovered, and is transcribed and translated here.—M. Perruchon continues his 'Notes pour l'histoire d'Ethiope.'-M. Halévy furnishes the whole of the quarterly 'Bibliographie.'

REVUE DES ÉTUDES JUIVES (No. 2, 1897).—M. S. Poznanski has the first place here with an article on Meswi Al-Okbari, the chief of a Jewish sect in the province of Bagdad, in the ninth century. Not much is known of the man himself, but the period when he flourished was one of exceptional vitality in Judaism, and was rich in teachers and sects. It has been said,

in fact, that there were then no fewer than seventy different sects in existence. This is most likely an exaggeration, and may be explained from the assumption on the part of the Arabs, to whom we owe it, that every Rabbi, who had any special following of disciples, was the founder of a new sect, Meswi was, from all we can learn of him, anything but an orthodox Jew. He seems to have made light of not a few ritual prescriptions, and to have taught several unauthorised ideas as to the obligations of observing some of the principal festivals of the year. He was far, therefore, from being a persona grata with the leaders of the faithful; and his reputation may have suffered in consequence at their hands. purity of his life has even been tarnished, but, rightly or wrongly, who now can say? The best exposition and refutation of Meswi's views is found in a writing of one. Tobias ben Eli. M. Poznanski prints here the text of it, and gives a summary of both the exposition and refutation, that his readers may judge for themselves as to the heterodoxy of the accused.—M. Leopold Goldschmid deals with the imposts and custom-dues levied in Judæa under the Romans. tremely able and interesting sketch is given at the beginning of the article of the fiscal relations of Rome with its conquered province, and we are placed thereby in a better position to understand the wide-spread and acute hatred of all strict Jews towards the Roman government, and their special scorn of those of Jewish blood who served as tax-gatherers. From Vespasian onwards, emperor after emperor, Nerva excepted, laid heavy toll on all Jewish industries and commerce. Christian regime brought the Jews no relaxing of these heavy burdens, and the forms the taxes took were often of the most vexatious kinds. After this historical sketch, the various taxes and custom-dues are detailed, and commented on, and a vivid picture is given us of the sad condition of Jewry from Vespasian's time.-M. S. Krauss has an elaborate paper on the term 'Apiphior,' a name given frequently by the Jews in the Middle Ages to the Roman Pontiff. Its etymology has baffled linguistic experts up to the present. M. Krauss thinks that that is due to the fact that in the Talmud the term appears without any reference to the Pope, and due attention has not been paid to this. Its use there is here brought out, and an etymology is sought applicable to both cases.—M. T. Reinach follows with a two page note, criticising the etymology offered, and casting not a little doubt on its value.—M. Isaac Halévy continues and concludes his article on the 'Close of the Talmud and the Saboraim.'-M. Jules Bauer writes on 'Le peste chez les Juifs d'Avignon.' His first lines arouse attention, and

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kindle expectancy. 'The terrible plague,' he writes, 'which is raging in India has more than once ravaged Europe. Central France especially has several times experienced it. In the Middle Ages, and even in more recent times, that, and similar epidemics have had a kind of permanent home in the sea ports of the Mediterranean, owing to the constant intercourse between them and the East. M. Bauer does not set himself, however, to prove the identity of the Bombay plague with any one of these, but goes on rather to describe the ravages of the plagues that did so much to destroy life in the Middle Ages, and of which the Jews were often thought to be the originators. Avignon was a special sufferer, owing to its proximity and relations with Marseilles.-M. Kaufmann continues his 'Contributions a l'histoire des Juits de Corfou?' -M. N. Roubin writes on 'La vie commerciale des Juifs comtadins en Languedoc au XVIII. siecle? '-M. I. Levi corrects some slight errors he has made in his paper in the last number on 'La Sagesse de Jesus fils de Sirach.'—The other short papers are 'Encore un mot sur le papyrus de Claude,' by M. T. Reinach; 'Le siege de Moise,' by M. W. Bacher; 'Les inscriptions hebraiques de la France,' by M. Schwab; 'Une piece diplomatique sur Sabbatai Cevi,' and 'Eliezhr et Hanna de Volterra, by M. Kaufmann.

LE MUSEON ET LA REVUE DES RELIGIONS (Nos. 2, 3, and 4, 1897).—Dr. E. Tachella continues here in the first two of these numbers his sketch of the history of 'Les anciens Pauliciens et les modernes Bulgares catholiques de la Philippopolitaine.' In the previous number he told the story of their origin, and gave a brief resumé of their history when they were in their original They were a sect of Manicheans, and took home, Armenia. their name from their founder, one Paul, the son of a Manichean monk, Callicine. He lived about the middle of the seventh century. They were, as were all the Armenian Christians, terribly persecuted by their Byzantine rulers, but they fought bravely for their liberty to serve Christ as they thought best. At last they were expatriated by John I. (Zimisces) in the year 970, and were settled in Philoppopolis. Their history for a considerable period after that is somewhat obscure. What can be recovered of it is told here, but Dr. Tachella hurries on to the story of their conversion to the Catholic faith. It seems to have been long before any serious effort was made to bring them within the pale of the Church, but when the work was undertaken in real earnest, it took no great time to accomplish it. The work was finished in about fifty years. The history of the Paulicians since then has

been of a somewhat chequered character, and it is narrated here in a brief but interesting way. Dr. Tachella sheds, in the course of his parrative, some light on hitherto obscure points, and corrects a misapprehension respecting them of which Gibbon was guilty, but into which he was led by trusting one of his authorities too hastily.—M. E. Beauvois gives us, in No. 2, a short article on 'Animaux domestiques chez d'anciens peuples de l'Amerique du nord.' It is based on representations of their domesticated animals, or parts of them, rudely drawn on stones, bones, rocks, etc., by the Aborigines; and also on the descriptions of their life by those who first visited them in the wake of Columbus. Clearly the horse, the ox, the dog, the deer, and many more of our most useful animals, had been brought under control, and used for draught purposes, or were reared for their produce, their milk, or their hides, or their flesh. The bee was a special favourite for its honey.—M. H. Grant continues, in Nos. 2 and 3, his 'Superstition in the Highlands of Scotland.' The superstitions, however, as we have had occasion to remark already, belong to the province of folk-lore rather than to the life of to-day. - M. P. Ladeuze has an article on the different recensions of the life of Pachomus, and their dependence on some common source. He has in view here the controversy between M. Amelineau and Herr Gutmacher. The former has devoted much attention to that Coptic saint, and The latter has recently has published not a little as to him. issued a monograph on Pachomus and the Cloister Life in Egypt. Both writers regard the 'Lives' of this celebrated monk, of which there are seven known, as coming substantially from one common tradition or from one written source. But they differ as to the original, and as to the relations in which they Which is the original, and what is the stand to one another. relation in which each stands to the rest? The question is discussed with much critical acumen here, and text is compared with text, and they are placed in parallel columns so as to enable readers to estimate for themselves the conclusions which M. Ladeuze draws as to them. The examination is not finished in these numbers.—M. le comte de Charancey continues, in all these numbers, his summary of Bernardino de Sahaguin's History of the Mexicans and their Migrations, up to the Conquest. It is, however, much more than a summary, for our author makes use of several other authorities to correct the Spanish priest's assertions and inferences, and so presents a truer historical picture of the course of events than is given by Sahaguin.—M. Minas Tcheraz, Professor of Armenian in King's College, London, gives in Nos. 3 and 4 a very interest398

ing account of 'The Armenian Church,' of its history and its doctrines. He traces the introduction of Christianity back to the apostolic labours of Thaddeus and Bartholomew. letter of Jesus to Abgarus he accepts as genuine. The successors of Abgarus apostatized, and it was not until the year 302 that Christianity was fully and finally accepted as the national religion. M. Tcheraz tells the story of the persecutions which the Church has endured since from the hands of the Persians, the Moslems, the Saracens, the Turks. These almost constant persecutions have, however, only deepened the strength of their faith, and intensified their loyalty to Christ. flinching faith and ardent loyalty remain as the fruit of their sufferings, and these are as strong to-day as ever, and distinguish their life and conduct in all their public and private affairs. The spirit of their Christianity is manifest in the institutions of piety and benevolence that abound in all parts of the country, and in the ready and unstitted help rendered to the sick and to the poor. The hospitals for lepers, the asylums for the aged, for orphans, and the destitute, whether these are of the same blood and faith as the Armenians or not, indisputably attest the reality and the quality of their religion. -M. A. Marre's translation of the 'Sadjarah Malayou' is continued, and is carried forward to the end of chap. 13.—M. the Abbé de Moor gives two instalments of an article titled 'La geste de Gilgames, confrontée avec la Bible et avec les documents historiques indigenes.'-Mnsgr. C. de Harlez, in No. 4, describes, under the title 'Les chasses guerrieres en Chine,' an ancient institution of the celestial empire. Military hunts have always, he says, been regarded in times of peace as an excel-lent substitute for the discipline of war. They develop such military qualities as courage, adroitness, skill in managing horses, in the use of the bow, the spear, and javelin, and other weapons, that it is not wonderful that they should have been largely resorted to as a means for inspiring and developing military virtues. In China these hunts were ordered and regulated by imperial decrees. There were three every year, and so arranged as not to injure the growing crops, and so ordered as not to imperil the destruction of the 'game.' Several of the important hunts recorded in the ancient annals are here noticed, and lists of the animals killed are given.— M. R. Maere discusses the recent controversies regarding the apostolic origin of the Gallican Churches,-Each number contains valuable reviews of books, and notices of current periodicals which deal with religious history or religious matters, and the 'Chronique' of the two months between each issue is always full and valuable.

REVUE PHILOSOPHIQUE (August, 1897).—Dr. Biervliet discusses the relation of sensory and motor images. Basing his examination on Flechsig's recent theory of the brain, he concludes that every image is at once sensory and motor. No radical distinction can be made between the two classes. Whether an impression appears as more the one than the other depends on the intensity of the stimulus and the development of the brain centres.—'The Soul and Liberty,' by Ch. Dunan, is an essay toward considering soul as immanent in the world. declares for monadism, and proposes a theory of liberty of contingency by which the monad developes on a certain plan, but in its own way, and with a measure of contingency inasmuch as the elements in its real existence are infinite.—M. G. le Bon's 'Socialism according to Race,' is mainly a contrast between the national character of the Latin and Teutonic races. Collectivism is no new thing in France. The Revolution, so far from destroying, has simply increased the tendency to centralise everything, to multiply place-holders, to discourage private initiative. The burdens imposed on commercial enterprises, the ruinous State management of railways, etc., the dead monotony of the educational system, are not far from The writer contrasts the self-reliance of the socialist ideal. England and America, while prophesying a bitter conflict in the latter country between its better elements and socialist importations.—Reviews and Notes.—(September, 1897).—M. L'Abbe Jules Martin treats of 'Philosophical Demonstration,' and endeavours to show that it is formally a circle, not making a way to new discoveries, but a tracing of the outlines of a structure which already exists. The unpardonable fault in a philosopher is not to be sought in his method, but in his view of the universe.—M. de la Grasserie discusses the evidence for and against final causes to be found in certain linguistic and social facts. He shows that the same 'cause' may in turn be mechanical, instinctive, and intentional or teleological. concludes by saying that similar investigations in biological and other provinces would yield further support for his views. -Among the notices is a long and appreciative review of Prof. W. L. Sheldon's recent work, An Ethical Movement.— (October) .- M. Tarde details his most recent views of Graphology in which there has lately been a revival of interest in French circles.—M. Milhaud writes on 'Geometrical reasoning on the Syllogism.'-M. Dugas 'Analyse psychologique de l'idée de devoir.'-B. Bourdon 'Muscular sensibility of the Eyes.'-Notes and Documents, Reviews, etc.

REVUE CELTIQUE (July, 1879).—The first place in this number is given to an article by M.S. Reinach with the title 'Tarvos

Trigaranus.' The subject of it is the significance of the four figures upon the four faces of an altar discovered at Paris in 1710 The first is that of Jupiter, standing, holding in his raised left hand the sceptre, clothed in a long tunic but leaving the right shoulder uncovered, and at his right on the ground an eagle, with the inscription IOVIS underneath. The second is the figure of Vulcan. The third is that of a woodman holding in his right hand an axe with which he is in the act of striking a tree. The inscription underneath is Esvs. fourth figure is that of a bull bearing on its back a long covering and standing beneath a tree, the foliage of which is identical with that of the tree which the woodman is in the act of The inscriptions here is TARVOS TRIGARANVS. Various attempts have been made, especially by M. Mowat, to interpret the meaning of these figures, but without success. M. Reinach here compares them with the figures found on an altar discovered in the last month of the year 1895, on the left bank of the Moselle, in the neighbourhood of Treves, and on the road between Luxemburg and Metz by Igel; and points out the apparently intimate relation between the bull and the tree, and endeavours to connect the symbolism with the popular mythology of trees and animals.—Dr. Whitley Stokes continues 'The Annals of Tigernach,' the annals here beginning with A.D. 1088, and ending with A.D. 1178.—In a brief but interesting article under the title 'Bretons insulaires en Islande,' M. Loth treats of the intimate relations, peaceful as well as warlike, which existed between the Brythons of Great Britain, and more especially of the kingdom of Strath-Clyde, and the Celts of Ireland.—M. Ernault discusses the Breton particles en, ent, ez.—Under the title 'La patrie de Tristan,' M. Loth raises the question, what was the country of Tristan? but after citing a number of passages, all of which are suggestive, he, for the present at least, leaves the question unanswered.—The concluding article is by the Editor, and has for its title 'Sur inscriptions en Caractéres Grecs de la Gaule Narbonnaise,' and refers to a paper read last May at the meeting of the Société de Linguistique.-The 'Chronique' and the 'Periodiques' are as usual full and interesting.

SPAIN.

LA ESPANA MODERNA (August, September, October).— Among continuations in these numbers we have 'Teresa,' a novel by Neera, which is concluded in the September part, the Marquess de Valmar's study on 'Cleopatra,' which ends in the first number, and the article with the title 'Propaganda

regional en Espana,' which runs through all the three.-In the part for August we have an interesting article contributed by Dr. Joaquin Olmedilla y Puig on 'Curiosities connected with the invention of gunpowder,' in which the learned author gives many particulars respecting early attempts to invent an explosive, as also respecting the comparatively early use of gunpowder.—The article in the 'International Press' for this month is a translation of a descriptive account of a 'Journey through England' from the French of H. Taine. M. Taine's journey was for the most part through Scotland, many parts of which he visited, and then proceeded straight to London, stopping only at York. He praises the scenery of the Clyde and the beauty of Edinburgh, and concludes with a number of remarks on the social, political, and religious life of the country.—'The 'Cronica Literaria' is taken up with reviews of poetry.—In the 'Cronica International' Emilio Castelar takes for his text the recent Jubilee celebrations in London, and writes chiefly on the settled character of monarchical government in the United Kingdom, on the character of the Queen as a constitutional sovereign, on the influence of the late Prince Consort, on the English democracy, and on the federation of the colonies. He writes also on the Emperor of Germany's influence on European politics, on the rectification of the Thessalian frontier, and on the festivities at Lisbon in honour of Vasco de Gama.—In the September part, in addition to continued articles already mentioned, Sr. Jose Ramon Mêlida writes on 'Epigraphs and Epigraphists in Spain,' and Ceferind Aranjo y Sánchez on 'Palmaroli and his Times.'-The latter article is followed by a translation from M. H. Taine with the title 'Spain in 1679 according to Madame d'Aulnoy.'-The section entitled 'International Press' is occupied with a translation of M. G. Art's paper entitled 'Women Clubs in London.' -In the 'Cronica International' Sr. Emilio Castelar is naturally occupied with the loss Spain has suffered by the assassination of the late Prime Minister, a loss which Sr. Castelar describes as irreparable.—In the August number Eduardo Rod begins a new story under the title, 'El Silencio.'—The articles on the 'Propaganda regional en España,' 'Palmaroli,' and 'España en 1679,' are continued.—The 'Cronica literaria' is occupied with reviews of a couple of novels, and 'La Prensa internacional' a couple of translations. - Emilio Castelar again occupies the 'Cronic internacional,' and discusses, among other things, Socialism, the Democracy in Germany, the Eastern question, and the relations between Radical and Conservative Republicans.

HOLLAND.

DE GIDS (August).—This number opens with 'My First Confession, a charmingly written analysis of a child's emotions. - Guido Gezelle, by Pol de Mont, is an endeavour to revive public interest in this poet who published his poems forty years ago, and at the time was over-estimated and later forgotten. His work is very unequal, but contains lyrical pieces that are extremely fine and tender.—'Objections to Co-operative State Farms.' This is a further exposition by Frederick van Eeden of his scheme propounded in the February Gids, with the addition of counter arguments to the many objections raised against it.—'Dark Days,' by H. Doeff, is a powerful sketch of Indian life at a remote station, the principal incident being the death of the Dutch settler's only child.—'International Arbitration,' by O. ten Have, is an interesting discussion of the subject.—(September).—The death of Emile Seipgens has deprived the Gids of a frequent contributor of novelettes, and there is given here part of a novel, 'Daniel,' left unfinished.— 'South Africa as it is at Present,' by J. W. C. van Oordt, takes, as might be expected, a standpoint of hostility to England, unfortunately in too many respects justified by recent events. -There follows a long review of George Brandes, the Danish writer, continued in the October number and still unfinished there, by Dr. R. C. Boer,—'The Religious State of Italy,' by C. de Vries Robbé, gives an intensely interesting picture of the attitude of various classes to their religion, showing at the same time great insight into and sympathy with the southern type of religious feeling.—(October).—' Decentralisation in the Dutch Indies,' by a former Governor of the west coast of Sumatra, De Munnick, contains interesting data, and advocates further steps in the direction indicated by the title of the article, such as were taken long ago in British India.— 'At Sea,' by Marcellus Emants, a psychological romance, of which the first part is here given, presents us with a young man of morbidly, selfanalytic character, who has made experiments in literature, love, and marriage with equal want of satisfaction in all, and now finds himself in every sense 'at sea.'- 'The Queen and the Marriage Law' is a discussion of the impending question of the probable position of a Prince Consort, and whether the queen must have a marriage law passed expressly for her, or, as the writer, Van Duiveland, thinks would be best, she should be subject to the ordinary marriage laws.

THEOLOGISCH TIJDSCHRIFT.—The July and September numbers give the conclusion of a short sketch of a system of Ethics, found among the papers of the late Prof. W. B. van Bell, of

Groningen. Morality is treated as being the development of the disposition placed in the individual, as the result of many factors in his antecedents and surroundings. The sketch breaks off in the middle of the section on religion, with the statement that morality is the outcome of religion, not religion of morality. It is certainly a notable piece of work.—In the July number Prof. van Manen deals with the question 'James not a Christian?' prompted by an essay by L. Massebieau, 'L'Epitre de Jacques est-elle l'oeuvre d'un chrétien?' in the Revue de l'Histoire des Religions, 1895, and also by an essay on the Epistle of James in F. Spitta's 'Zur Geschichte und Literatur des Urchristenthumes.' Both these writers declare the Epistle to be a Jewish work, pointing to its well-known poverty in Christian ideas and references, and seeking to prove it independent of and anterior to, the Pauline epistles and the Gospels. Van Manen considers the dependence of James on the Pauline writings to be so evident that we may confidently hold the Epistle to be later in date and to be a Christian writing.-Dr. Oort speaks with high praise of Mr. Buchanan Gray's Studies in Hebrew Proper Names; and in terms of strong disapproval of Prof. Sayce's Palestine: The Land of the Patriarchs, now translated into Dutch, who is found to sacrifice too much to the object of establishing the truth of statements in Genesis. Prof. Robertson's Religion of Israel has also had the honour of translation into Dutch, and is here dealt with by Dr. Oort, who has not been favourably impressed with this example of Scottish scholarship, and concludes by remarking that no impartial investigation can be expected from a scholar in whose eyes the results of historical criticism are hostile to faith.

SWITZERLAND.

BIBLIOTHEQUE UNIVERSELLE ET REVUE SUISSE (August, 1897).—M. A. Veuglaire continues his military studies with an account, by no means favourable, of the Italian army. According to him every branch of the service is badly trained and equipped, and wanting in esprit de corps in all grades. The only redeeming feature is the mountain corps.—'Donna Beatrice,' a novel, is concluded.—M. Glardon gives the third part of an interesting study on ants.—(September).—'Mysticism and Philosophy,' by M. E. Naville, describes the various forms of Oriental and Western Mysticism, and considers its relations to philosophy. There are two kinds, one good, which never loses sight of man's nature and his relation to the universe, the other bad, the enemy of all accepted religious teach-

ing, as well as of human activity and intellectual research .-An important paper on 'Queen Victoria and the Emperor Nicholas I.,' by M. Michel Delines, is based on recent researches in Russian archives on the occasion of the centenary of the late Tzar's birth.-M. Henry-A. Junod gives specimens of negro tales from Lorenzo Marques.—'Un Projet de Rachat des Chemins de Fer Suisses.'-Conclusion of an adaptation of W. D. Howell's Dr. Breen.—(October).—'Russian policy in the Eastern Question,' by M. Reader, sketches the relations between Russia and Turkey since the Turkish settlement in Europe. The present instalment reaches to 1729 .- 'The Princess with the Mirrors,' a fairy tale, is concluded .- M. Monastier concludes a full and interesting account of the Danish musician Edv. Grieg.—'An Ambassadress at the Congress of Vienna,' recounts the career of the Comtesse Elise de Bernstorff.—The fifth part of M. Tallichet's paper on 'Swiss Railways.'-'Ursule' a Zurich story.—The various 'chroniques' are as usual full and interesting.

GREECE.

ATHENA (Vol. IX., Part 1 and 2)—The contents of this part are mainly philological, viz., 'Critical Observations on Xenophon of Ephesus,' by D. K. Zangogianni.—A further instalment of S. Basês' 'Roman Questions,' and critical notes on various passages from Greek and Latin writers, by the same.—Emendations of some passages in Isaeus' oration on the estate of Cleonomus—A long series of lexicographical notes, by K. S. Kontos—and a discussion between the k. Hatzidakis and the k. Pappademetrakopoullos, provoked by an article of the former which appeared in the previous issue.—'The Universe,' by D. Aiginêtês, a resumé of modern physical theories.—A mathematical paper by J. N. Hatzidaki.—Notes on Philostratos.

DELTION OF THE HISTORICAL AND ETHNOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF GREECE (Vol. V., Pt. 18, July, 1897).—Maxmilian Treu describes several writings which he has discovered of Enthymios Malakês, metropolitan of Neai Patrai, and the friend of Niketas Akominatos.—A Venetian report of the capture of Athens in 1687, and a description of the city and of Corinth are printed by Sp. Lampros, who also gives the report on the Peloponnesos by the Proveditor Tadio Gradenigo on his return in 1692.—A. Diamantara publishes an inscription and charter of the Monastery of S. George in Megistê.—A letter of Kons. Metaxas describing the death of Markos Botsaris.—Some correspondence of Koraës.—A collection of Tales from

Tenos, with introduction and parallels, by A. J. Adamantios.
— 'Cypriote Songs,' edited by S. Menardos.—D. M. Sarros describes the survival of the lament for Linos and Adonis in Epeiros.—Anthimos, Metropolitan of Amaseia, gives a catalogue of the MSS. in the Monastery of Kastron in Berat.—Notes on the Greek Colony of Trieste.

AMERICA.

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW (July, 1897).—This number begins with the continuation of Mr. J. Sullivan's excellent study on 'Marsiglio of Padua and William of Ockam.' He concludes with the following sentences:- 'Marsiglio may have borrowed his theories of the State from Aristotle, but his theories of the relations between Church and State are original with himself. He did not borrow them from Ockam; the evidence against this is too strong, and the only statement for it too weak. It is Marsiglio's originality and the history of his famous work which have served in our own day to make him an international celebrity possessing an interest not only "for the Germans, the Italians, and the French," as Riezler says, but also for the English.'-Mr. Lea's article on 'Lucero the Inquisitor,' is of more than ordinary interest, and gives a lively and vivid sketch of the career of that notorious individual .-Mr. Rockhill's article on 'Diplomatic Missions to the Court of China' is continued. The special subject of the continuation is the Kotow Question. Both this and the preceding part are well worth reading. They deal with a state of things which is now passed away, and narrate the difficulties which diplomatists had once to deal with when doing business at the Court of China.-Mr. Osgood writes on 'The Proprietary Province as a form of Colonial Government, and Mr. J. Schouler treats of the 'Evolution of the American Voter,' while Messrs. Paul, L. Ford and E. J. Bourne deal with the vexed question of the authorship of The Federalist.—Among the inedited documents that which will have the chief attraction for readers on this side of the Atlantic is 'The First Charter to St. Edmund's Bury.'-The books reviewed are numerous, and for the most part American.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

A History of Christianity in the Apostolic Age. By ARTHUR CUSHMAN M'GIFFERT, Ph.D., D.D. (International Theological Library). Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1897.

Although the main facts of the history of Christianity during the age of the Apostles are well known, and it is not likely that anything remains to be discovered which will materially affect our views of its general course, criticism and research, which are probably showing themselves more active in the present than they have in any other period of the Church's existence, are continually bringing to light new and interesting particulars which, from time to time, render it necessary to revise the narrative, or to re-write it so as to incorporate the new information, and show its bearing upon the general course of events. In a series, therefore, like that of the 'International Theological Library,' a new history of the period was naturally to be expected, and by some, or at least by those who are acquainted with what has recently been done by Weizsäcker, Harnack, Ramsay, and others, in this department, was probably eagerly looked for. The subject is one which recent controversy has made particularly thorny, and requires to be handled in the most delicate way. The Editors of the 'Library,' however, may be congratulated on having placed it in the hands of one so capable as Dr. M'Giffert. That his views will be universally accepted or escape criticism is scarcely possible, still, to the majority of readers and students, his work will commend itself as at least luminous and scholarly. Dr. M'Giffert is evidently well acquainted with the most recent theories and discoveries; and while to the latter he gives due prominence, with respect to the former he exercises a wise conservatism. His work is at once fresh and independent. A follower of Weizsäcker he cannot be called, since between his own conclusions and a number of those arrived at by the German professor, there are 'many radical and far-reaching differences,' and though a pupil of Harnack, while agreeing with him on such matters as the chronology of the life of St. Paul, the interpretation of the purpose of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and on the character of Second Peter as the only pseudonymous work in the New Testament, he does not hesitate to differ from him in respect to the North Galatian theory, the second imprisonment of St. Paul, and the Ephesian residence of St. John. By Christianity Dr. M'Giffert evidently means the Church. No definition of it is given, but he is chiefly occupied with the history of the doctrines and institutions to which, in the age of the Apostles, Christianity gave birth. As preliminary to the history, we have sections on Judaism and John the Baptist. In the first of these we have a brief but vivid description of the religious condition of Palestine at the advent of Our Lord, and in the second a sketch of the Baptist's work. Of the two, this latter is the less satisfactory. In Dr. M'Giffert's opinion the Baptist 'Conceived his connection with the coming kingdom not in any sense as official or peculiar, and his work, as a work, belonged to himself alone;' but the narrative, both in the fourth and in the third gospel, would suggest the opinion that he was fully conscious that the position he held in respect to the coming Messiah was official. From the narrative in the fourth Gospel, it is difficult to avoid the opinion that he believed himself

specially commissioned both to announce the Advent and to baptize Jesus. It may be admitted that 'there is no clear assertion' in the Baptist's recorded utterances of a general religious and ethical ideal of such a character as to effect a thorough reconstruction of the prevailing notions of the age,' but it does not follow, as Dr. M'Giffert appears to argue, that the Baptist had no ideal of the kind. It has always to be remembered that the Gospels are not mainly concerned with him, and that his recorded utterances are exceedingly fragmentary or altogether inadequate to convey a full conception of his teaching; as inadequate, indeed, as St. Mark's summary, chap. i. 14, 15, is to convey a full conception of the teaching of Besides, if the reformation demanded by the Baptist concerned, as Dr. M'Giffert argues, 'not mere external observance, but the heart as well; if 'it involved the exercise of mercy, justice, honesty, fidelity, and humility,' and if 'he evidently felt very keeuly the artificiality and externality of the religious and ethical ideals of his countrymen,' the inference is that, though we have no record on the subject, he must have been in possession of such an ideal as is here argued he had not, and when the significance of his recorded utterances are fully considered, they would seem to indicate that, instead of not being prepared, as Dr. M'Giffert thinks, 'to enunciate a clean-cut and thorough-going principle which should effectually modify them,' he was not only prepared to enunciate some such principle but also did enunciate one. What principle, for instance, can be more 'thorough-going,' 'clean-cut,' or more capable of 'modifying the religious and ethical ideals of his countrymen' than that which underlay his call to repentence, or his demand for absolute purity of heart and life as a preparation for the advent of the kingdom? The argument from the silence of the record is dangerous and has impaired Dr. M'Giffert's conception both of the position of John and of the ethical and religious value of his teaching. In the section entitled 'Jesus,' Dr. M'Giffert makes no attempt, and that for obvious reasons, to write a Life of Jesus; he is occupied rather with the discussion of a number of points in His teaching. Among these may be mentioned His conception of His Messiah and of the kingdom of heaven, His attitude towards the Jewish law and the importance which, after the incident at Caesarea Philippi, Jesus gave to personal attachment to himself. As for His work, he says that though He had 'failed to secure for His Gospel of the Kingdom the acceptance of the people as a whole, as He had once hoped to do,' His life was not a failure, and He knew it was not; for He had succeeded in convincing them' [the disciples], 'if not others, that He was actually the promised Messiah, and that the Messianic kingdom was to find in Him its founder and its head. He had thus given them a bond of union which He knew would serve to keep them His until the consummation, and would nerve and inspire them to carry on till then the work of preparation which He could not live to complete. The secret of His historic significance lies just in this fact.' The idea that Jesus was 'thought of almost from the beginning as the incarnation of deity and as the perfect and ideal man' is combatted, and the opinion expressed that 'His disciples founded the Christian Church,' 'not upon His deity, nor yet upon the perfection of His humanity.' 'They thought of Him,' Dr. M'Giffert maintains, 'only as the Messiah, and the fact that He left a Church behind Him, instead of a mere name, and that He is known to history as the founder of a religion and not as a mere sage or prophet, is historically due not so much to any uniqueness in His character or in His nature, as to the conviction which He succeeded in imparting to His followers that He was the One who had been promised by the prophets and long-awaited by the fathers. The power of this wonderful personality is revealed in His success in impressing that belief upon them in spite of the difficulties with which it was beset.' Historically or otherwise, however, it seems to us, and in our opinion it is here admitted by Dr. M'Giffert, that the fact that Jesus left a Church behind Him is due chiefly, if not altogether, to the uniqueness of His character and nature. The fact, too, that He was conceived of by the disciples as the Messiah, or 'the conviction . . . that He was the One who had been promised and long-awaited by the fathers, proves that, in the opinion and faith of the disciples, His character and nature were altogether unique. Dr. M'Giffert's conception of Primitive Jewish Christianity is, on the whole, good. He brings out clearly the importance which Apostles attached to the resurrection of Jesus and the doctrines they preached; he discusses the question of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, on Communism and the feeling of brotherhood in the Church at Jerusalem. The sections on the Work of St. Paul, as need hardly be said, abound in matters for controversy, as do also the subsequent sections; but on these we are unable here to touch. The work, however, is written throughout in an enlightened spirit, shows ripe scholarship, and exhibits on every page the desire to write an impartial and thoroughly reliable narrative. That Dr. M'Giffert's views on all the points will find acceptance can, as we said at the outset, be scarcely expected. In a department where so much controversy exists whose can?

A History of English Poetry. By W. J. COURTHOPE, C.B., etc., Professor of Poetry in the University of Oxford. Vol. II. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1897.

Roughly speaking, this volume covers the hundred years in the history of English poetry from the beginning of the sixteenth to the beginning of the seventeenth century. With the opening of the sixteenth century the poetry of England as well as the history of England entered upon a new era, and, in accordance with his general plan as well as for the illustration of his fundamental idea that the poetry of a people is the expression of its inner life, and for the purpose of elucidating the history of English poetry during the period under review, Mr. Courthope devotes the first chapter of his present volume to a sketch of the existing political and intellectual condition of Europe-a sketch which, though necessarily brief and somewhat superficial, is nevertheless of sufficient importance to render its careful perusal absolutely indispensable for the thorough understanding and enjoyment of the chapters which follow. The necessity for this chapter and the character of the period are admirably hit off in the following sentences: '. . The sixteenth century is the great age of transition from mediæval to modern times; the chief poets of the period work from the basis of culture provided for them by the Middle Ages, but they are alive to all the influences of their own age; and like their ancestor, Chaucer, they avail themselves of ideas and feelings flowing in upon them from a foreign source. Wyatt and Surrey are imitators of Petrarch; Sidney is inspired by Sannazzaro, George de Montemayor, and Castiglione; Lyly develops the manner of Guevara; Spenser emulates Marot and Ariosto; Marlowe embraces the doctrines of Macchiavelli.' With the same tact that, in the first volume, selected the Diet of Coblentz as an external indication of the theory of order underlying the society of mediæval Europe, the Diet of Augsburg, held in 1518, is here selected to illustrate the working of the ancient system in Europe on the eve of the Reformation. international relations of the Powers who were represented at that famous meeting are discussed, and Mr. Courthope has no difficulty in showing that,

notwithstanding the purpose for which the Diet was summoned, there was in reality an entire absence of unity among the Powers represented, that the forces of disruption were everywhere making themselves manifest, and that a vast change was gradually coming over the political, intellectual, and religious condition of the West. What this change was is pointed out with singular clearness in the following sentences: 'Out of the decaying fabric of the Christian Republic emerged, gradually but distinctly, the idea of the modern State. In almost every country in Europe, but more particularly in Italy, Germany, and England, we find philosophic writers in the first quarter of the sixteenth century deliberately busying themselves with speculations as to the manner in which communities of men should be created and organised; and their inquiries are no longer conducted on the basis approved by the Schoolmen, as in the days of Dante and Petrarch, but leave out of account, or rather throw into the background, the old fundamental principles of the Empire and the Papacy. Each thinker, whether More, Luther, or Macchiavelli, fixed his eyes on the well-being of his own country, though his ideas were coloured with associations derived from the old order in which he had been educated. It was as though the great central sun of Catholicism and Feudalism, a fiery mass of inorganic elements, had parted on all sides with huge bodies of matter, each of which had formed into a separate system with an orbit of its own. Every one of these new worlds, while sharing by means of its constituent elements in the life of the original source of its being, soon developed a life and character peculiar to itself, and opposed to the characteristic life of its neigh-Or, to speak without metaphor, in the sixteenth century the various kingdoms in the West of Europe, Spain, France, and England began to display a clearly marked individuality in all matters relating to religion, art, literature, and manners. The creative impulse in each nation came from a small central region in which the Crown was supreme, but which represented the life of the whole community, and accordingly all national interests, political, spiritual, and intellectual, gravitated to the Court as the seat of the monarchy.' The justice of this admirable passage must be admitted. But it is here impossible to follow Mr. Courthope further in this singularly interesting discussion. We may add, however, that in the course of it he illustrates the operation of the new forces by a reference to Castiglione's Cortegiano, the Discorsi and Principe of Macchiavelli, and the Colloquies of Erasmus-works which, to some extent, he analyses for the purpose of indicating the influences which went to form the English imagination, and to determine the character and form of its poetry. The chapters on Wyatt and Surrey leave nothing to be desired. The former is regarded as 'the pioneer of the artistic reforms' of the latter, and the improvements made by Surrey on English versification are distinctly brought out. Justice is done to the originality and vigour of Wyatt, notwithstanding his dependence on Petrarch and Alammani. Surrey, whose 'predominant poetical virtue' is 'style,' and to which 'he owes his great position in the history of English poetry,' is regarded as the type of the chivalry of the sixteenth century, and has one of the best and longest chapters in the volume devoted to him. Mr. Courthope examines the legend of his devotion to the fair Geraldine, and dismisses it, for the most part, as fiction. That Elizabeth Fitz-Gerald was the subject of many if not of all Surrey's love-poems is admitted; so is it that Surrey had professed himself her 'man,' and that she had accepted his service after the manner prescribed by the laws of courtesy, 'but to infer from Surrey's language,' says Mr. Courthope, 'that either party carried their attachment beyond the limits of sport and fancy, would be to misinterpret the genius of the age in which they lived, and the literary motives by which all the

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poetical compositions of Surrey seem to have been inspired.' Scottish poetry, it would seem, does not lie within the scope of Mr. Courthope's history, but in his chapter on 'The Idea of the State in Poetry,' he calls in Sir David Lyndsay as having in all probability suggested the composition of the Mirror for Magistrates, a work which, as he says, was only in part the work of Sackville. In the chapter, again, on translations, reference is made to the works of Gavin Douglas, and the fact is brought out that the Bishop was moved to the undertaking of his translation of the Aeneid by the mistakes Caxton had made. One of the best chapters, if not indeed the best chapter in the volume, is that on Lyly, though it is probably equalled by one which follows it on Spenser. The three concluding chapters of the volume are devoted to the beginnings of dramatic literature in the sixteenth century. From the point of view adopted by Mr. Courthope, the whole volume is admirable. The scholarship is unquestionable, and few will be disposed to find fault with his literary judgments. Still all through, while Mr. Courthope illustrates with singular skill the progress of the classical element in English poetry, one is always haunted by the question, What then is the distinctively English element? To this the references are singularly few.

What the Gunpowder Plot Was. By SAMUEL RAWSON GARDINER, D.C.L., LL.D. London, New York, and Bombay: Longmans, Green & Co. 1897.

Father Gerard's work, What was the Gunpowder Plot? The Traditional Story Tested by Original Evidence, has already called forth one reply, and here is another. It is from the pen of Mr. Rawson Gardiner, the latest historian of the period. The impression left upon the minds of those who read Father Gerard's book is, says Mr. Gardiner, that 'The celebrated conspiracy was mainly, if not altogether, a fiction devised by the Earl of Salisbury for the purpose of maintaining or strengthening his position in the government of the country under James I.,' and in confirmation of this he proceeds to cite the summary which Father Gerard has placed at the conclusion of his argument. That summary is as follows: 'The evidence available to us appears to establish principally two points: that the true history of the Gunpowder Plot is now known to no man, and that the history commonly received is certainly untrue. It is quite impossible to believe that the Government were not aware of the plot long before they announced its discovery. It is difficult to believe that the proceedings of the conspirators were actually such as they are related to have been. It is unquestionable that the Government consistently falsified the story and the evidence as presented to the world, and that the points upon which they most insisted prove, upon examination, to be the most doubtful. There are grave reasons for the conclusion that the whole transaction was dexterously contrived for the purpose which, in fact, it opportunely served by those who alone reaped benefit from it, and who showed themselves so unscrupulous in the manner of reaping.' With other scholars, Mr. Gardiner holds the belief that the Plot emanated from, or was approved by, the English Roman Catholics as a body, to be entirely false. Father Gerard's conclusions, however, he regards as erroneous. At the same time, he believes that they at least call for patient enquiry. There are difficulties in the traditional story which, in spite of the hostile criticism of Father Gerard's book, still remain to be removed. Father Gerard, he says, 'Gives us hard nuts to crack; and, till they are cracked, the story of the Gunpowder Plot cannot be allowed to settle down in peace.' His first chapter is on 'Historical Evidence.' Here he rejects Father Gerard's

third chapter on 'The Opinion of Contemporaries and Historians' as entirely worthless, on the ground mainly that the opinions cited are too remote and unsubstantial, being for the most part those of individuals who had no better means of forming a judgment than ourselves. He objects to Father Gerard's criticism also as purely negative, and complains that he has not started any simple hypothesis wherewith to test the evidence on which he relies, and has thereby neglected the most potent instrument of historical investigation.' His own hypothesis is 'That the traditional story is true—cellar, mine, the Monteagle letter, and all.' In the course of his argument Mr. Gardiner is not content with simply negativing Father Gerard's inferences, he brings his own hypothesis to the test of established Some ragged ends, some details of a more or less doubtful character, he believes there must be, but this hypothesis, he is of opinion, nowhere meets with obstacles inconsistent with its substantial truth. In the first place, he sets himself to establish the fact that the story of the mine and cellar is borne out by the account given of the plot by Fawkes, and to negative the opinion that Salisbury was previously acquainted with it, and was all through guilty of falsifying the evidence given to the world, and of using the 1 lot for his own advantage. After a careful scrutiny of the documentary evidence, and of the arguments of Father Gerard in regard to it, Mr. Gardiner remarks: 'Father Gerard's charge resolves itself into this, that Salisbury not only deceived the public at large, but his brothercommissioners as well. Has he seriously thought out all that is involved in this theory? Salisbury, according to hypothesis, gets an altered copy of a confession drawn up, or else a confession purely invented by himself. The clerk who makes it is, of course, aware of what is being done, and also the second clerk who wrote out the second copy sent to Edmondes. Edmondes, at least, received the second copy, and there can be little doubt that other ambassadors received it also. How could Salisbury count on the life-long silence of all these? Salisbury, as the event proved, was not exactly loved by his colleagues, and if his brother-commissioners -every one of them men of no slight influence at Court-had discovered that their names had been taken in vain, it would not have been left to the rumour of the streets to spread the news that Salisbury had been the inventor of the plot. Nay, more than this, Father Gerard sets distinctly down the story of the mine as an impossible one, and therefore one which must have been fabricated by Salisbury for his own purposes. The allegation that there had been a mine was not subsequently kept in the dark. It was proclaimed on the house-tops in every account of the plot published to the world. And all the while, it seems, six out of these seven Commissioners, to say nothing of the Attorney-General, knew that it was all a lie-that Fawkes, when they examined him on the 8th, had really said nothing about it, and yet, neither in public, nor, so far as we know, in private—either in Salisbury's life-time or after his death—did they breathe a word of the wrong that had been done to them as well as to the conspirators." After a chapter dealing with the other documentary evidence in respect to the plot, in which attention is mainly called to the confession made by Thomas Winter and the untenableness of the theory that it was written to order or dictated by Salisbury or his agents, Mr. Gardiner proceeds to discuss the structural condition which Father Gerard pronounces to be fatal to the 'traditional' story. He accepts the theory of Father Gerard that Whynniard's house, part of which was rented by Percy, lay not to south-west of the House of Lords, as was formerly believed, but near the south-east corner, and while attempting to fix its position still more precisely points out that assuming that Percy's lodging was on the south-east side of the House of Lords any difficulties of a structural nature which

might possibly exist are very materially lessened, and sees in the arguments brought forward by Father Gerard to the contrary no insuperable difficulties. In the remaining chapters Mr. Gardiner deals with the discovery of the plot and the treatment which the Catholics and the priests received at the hands of the Government. He pays a high tribute to the bravery and unselfishness of the conspirators, and is far from exonerating the Government from blame in respect of its policy towards the Catholics. It is scarcely possible to read his volume without being sensible of the spirit of perfect impartiality by which it is pervaded. From beginning to end Mr. Gardiner writes as a student whose simple desire is to ascertain the truth and to set it forth.

Hannibal: Soldier, Statesman, Patriot, and the Crisis of the Struggle between Carthage and Rome. By WILLIAM O'CONNOR MORRIS. 'Heroes of the Nation' Series. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1897.

The materials for a Life of Hannibal are not extensive. Not a single dispatch from his own hand, nor even a line of his correspondence has survived. For the most part the biographer has to depend upon Livy and Polybius. Livy is brilliant but prejudiced. Polybius is fairer, but unfortunately much of what he narrated respecting the greatest of the Carthaginians has been lost. In the volume before us Mr. O'Connor Morris has relied less upon the Roman and more upon the Greek historian. estimate of him is on the whole fair, though he is probably a little hard upon him when he calls him 'a rather dull writer.' Perhaps on the whole he is, yet his passages regarding Hannibal scarcely deserve to come under this condemnation. His narratives of the passage of the Rhone and of the Alps and his description of the battle of Cannae are to say the least spirited. He was doubtless a bad geographer, but he was animated by large ideas of what an historian ought to do and was, as he says himself, more concerned in stating events than in writing brilliant descriptions. He is not always so precise as one would like, and now and then he is a little too credulous, but on the whole he is fairly modern, perhaps among the ancient historians the most modern, and not having the national pre-judices against Hannibal that Livy had, he is more to be trusted. Mr. Morris has relied also on several modern biographies, such, for instance, as Colonel Dodge's Hannibal and Colonel Hénnébert's Annibal and has made good use of a number of remarks made by Napoleon. His own Life has been written for popular reading and is at once scholarly and attractive in style. His first two chapters contain a masterly description of the state of affairs in Rome and Carthage before the outbreak of the First Punic war and in a volume such as they belong to are indispensable. As need hardly be said, the subsequent pages are crowded with incident. The story of Hannibal's march from Spain round by the Gulf of Lyons, and across the Alps, his descent into Italy, and his brilliant campaign there, is told with singular force and lucidity. Equally admirable is the account given of the Romans both in the field and in the city, their patience and patriotism and the sacrifices they made in order to shake off and overcome the most formidable opponent the Republic ever had. Mr. Morris's estimate of Hannibal's abilities is not higher than the facts he has to narrate warrant. He is thoroughly alive to the magnitude of the issues which were at stake, and though far from undervaluing the abilities of Hannibal either as a soldier or as a statesman, he is always on the side of the Romans and contrasts effectively the spirit which prevailed in Rome with that which animated both the rulers and the people of Carthage. On the question as to the site of the battle of Cannae Mr. Morris sides with the majority of writers who, following Swinburne, place it on the left bank of the Aufidus, as against Dr. Arnold and Mr. Strachan-Davidson, who place it on the right. The plan of the battle which is here given is by no means so intelligible as Mr. Morris's description, nor by any means so good as those given in Mr. Strachan-Davidson's Extracts from Polybius. The illustrations, indeed, ought to have been much better and more on a level with the literary workmanship of the volume.

The Poetry of Robert Burns. Edited by WILLIAM ERNEST HENLEY and THOMAS F. HENDERSON. Vol. IV. T. C. & E. C. Jack. Edinburgh. 1897.

The first three volumes of this scholarly and handsome edition of Burns's Poems were reviewed some time ago at considerable length in the pages of this Review, and little more needs to be done in respect to this, the concluding volume, than congratulate the Editors upon its appearance and enumerate its contents. These, as need hardly be said, though few in number, are apart from the verses, of the indispensable sort. The verses the volume includes are a number of miscellaneous songs composed or issued during the last years of Burns's life, together with a number of unauthorised pieces which the editors entitle 'Interpolations and Improbables.' As to these last we doubt whether any one will quarrel with the editors' decision. Their claims to be by Burns are few and at best they are not worthy of him. The contents of the volume to which most admirers of Burns will turn with more than ordinary eagerness are the Preface and the Essay on the Life, Achievements and Genius of the Poet. In the Preface the editors restate their aims. First, their intention to produce a 'classic text;' secondly, to give the history and local setting of the various poems; thirdly, to provide the Southron reader with an adequate glossary; and lastly, to define and determine the relation of Burns to the past. As to the degree of success with which they have fulfilled these intentions there has, so far, been a variety of opinions. Anything like unanimity, however, was not to be expected, and the probability is that, with the issue of the present volume, there will be less even than there was. The editors have ways of looking at Burns and his poems of their own which to many Burns enthusiasts will in some and important respects be unacceptable. On their first point most will admit they have succeeded. They have produced a good text and it may fairly claim to be That it is final is more we should imagine than even its warmest approvers will maintain. Like all 'classical texts' it is open to criticism and some time must probably elapse before a final text can be had. Ungrudging praise, however, is due to Messrs. Henley and Henderson for the admirable work they have done in this direction. To those who know how to use them their various readings are a gift not to be lightlied. Something in this direction has also been done by Mr. Wallace in his sumptuous edition of Chambers' Life and Works of Burns. Indeed, if the centenary had done no more than occasion the production of the improved texts of these two publications, it would have been worth holding. Notwithstanding the much ado that was made about their characterisation of Burns as a 'local poet,' 'the satirist and singer of a parish,' the editors still stick to it. They show, too, that the grounds for their designation are much more relative than some of their impetuous critics suppose. Here is part of their defence :- 'The "serious Burns student" has assured the world, or so much of it as he could reach, that our "gibes against the Poet's parochialism" have covered us with "obloquy." As a matter

of fact, no finer eulogy could be passed on Burns, no nobler tribute paid his gift, than is contained in the demonstration that, though "the satirist and singer of a parish," he appeals to "a world-wide public:" since he must of necessity command such an audience by virtue of his intrinsic splendour and innate magnificence and in despite of local and peculiar accidents.' To this Mr. Henley reverts in the 'Essay.' The glossary is full, no one, even a Scotsman, will complain of its fulness. Where a glossary comes in useful both to Scotsmen and Englishmen is when it deals with local words. Most Southrons, to whom spoken Lowland Scotch is almost as unintelligible as Gaelic can read Burns with ease. Their only difficulty is with local words and words that have dropped entirely out of use. In respect to these the glossary prepared for the Centenary Edition will prove fairly useful. Some of the definitions, though passable, are scarcely so exact as they might be. A 'bizz' is a bustle rather than a 'flurry;' 'reekit' is smoked, not 'smoky,' for which the right word is 'reeky.' Brose is not 'porridge' but brose, except in Clydesdale, where halfboiled porridge is called 'brose,' but even then brose is not porridge. A 'caup' is a cup, and not necessarily 'wooden;' it is the general name for a drinking vessel. A 'cog' on the other hand is wooden; hence 'cogs an' caups.' 'Fash' is more general than 'annoyance' and is better represented by 'trouble,' with the verb from which 'to fash' is here in the glossary explained. 'Gab,' which is explained by 'mouth, jaw,' does not in any one of the passages cited signify 'jaw,' but in every one has the meaning of 'mouth.' 'Sparkling' is not a good rendering for 'glinted.' As a verb it means to shine with a reflected light; hence to flash. sparkled forth' is a poor and quite misleading rendering of 'those glinted forth;' nor will 'ye sparkled by' do for 'ye glinted by.' The word indeed seems rather to have puzzled the compiler of the glossary. To mention, however, but one more. The following occurs: 'Lume, a loom; "wark-lume" = a tool.' The inference would be that if 'lume' equals 'loom,' 'wark-lume' would equal not 'tool' but work or working loom; evidently the compiler has gone to Jamieson where he has seen the right meaning of 'wark-lume' and then guessed at the meaning of 'lume' not knowing that it stands for the old English for 'lome' a tool or instrument, and that, as Jamieson says, 'wark-lume,' or as he spells it 'warkloom,' is 'a tool or instrument for working with in any way.' In the Essay Mr. Henley gives a brief but sufficient sketch of Burns's life, dwells at considerable length on the Highland Mary and other episodes, tries to account for the genius of Burns and gives an estimate of Burns's character. The Essay is scarcely so elaborate as Mr. Wallace's and it is doubtful whether it will prove as acceptable to Burns's worshippers. There is in it much cold criticism and much with which the class we have just referred to will find fault. Much of the criticism, however, is just, though not the whole As for Burns himself Mr. Henley is of opinion that he was a product of the social evolution of his time. But if evolution is sufficient to account for him, or if he was a natural product of his time, why were there not more than one Burns. The Social Evolution theory is pretty hard worked. It may serve as a general hypothesis, but there are many things it leaves unexplained.

Chaucerian and Other Pieces. Edited from numerous Manuscripts, by the Rev. Walter W. Skeat, Litt. D., D.C.L., etc., etc. Being a supplement to the Complete Works of Chaucer (Oxford. 6 vols. 1894). Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1897.

This is a necessary and, so far as the editorial part of the work is concerned, an admirable supplement to Dr. Skeat's monumental edition of Chaucer. It contains most of the pieces which have been appended to Chaucer's works in various editions. The word 'appended' is used advisedly, since in the earliest editions they were not attributed to Chaucer but were simply included in the volumes containing his known works as a sort of appendix. Some of them were even attributed to other authors; 'The Praise of Peace,' for instance, was marked as Gower's; another piece was attributed to Scopan, and Stowe, who has much to answer for in connection with the confusion that has arisen, actually marked 'The Flower of Curtesye' as written by Lydgate. Most of them, of course, first appeared in Thynne's first or 1532 edition of Chaucer, and the way in which they came to be regarded as Chaucer's is curious. In this connection we cannot do better than let Dr. Skeat explain. 'Those,' he says, 'who, through ignorance or negligence, regard Thynne's edition of Chaucer as containing "works attributed to Chaucer" make a great mistake; and even if the mistake be excused on the ground that it has been very generally and very frequently made, this does not lessen its magnitude. The title of Thynne's book is very instructive, and really runs thus:—"The Workes of Geffray Chaucer newly printed, with dyners workes which were neuer in print before, etc." This is strictly and literally true; for it contains such works of Chaucer's as had previously been printed by Caxton, Wynkyn de Worde, and Julian Notary, together with "dyners workes [of various authors] which were neuer in print before." Which is the simple solution of the whole matter as far as this edition is concerned. The same remarks apply to the second edition in 1542, and the third, printed about 1550. But Stowe, in 1561, altered the title so as to give it a new meaning. The title-page of his edition runs thus:—"The Woorkes of Geffrey Chaucer, newly printed with diuers Addicions which were neuer in printe before." Here the authorship of Chaucer was, for the first time, practically claimed for the whole of Thynne's volume. At the same time, as Dr. Skeat goes on to remark, it is evident that Stowe did not mean what he seems to say, for it was he who first assigned the poem beginning 'Consider wel' as well as 'The Flower of Curtesye' to Lydgate. All the pieces wrongly attributed to Chaucer mainly in consequence of this unfortunate and apparently unintentional mistake of Stowe's, nor even all the additions appended by Thynne, Dr. Skeat has not here printed, but only a selection, though the selection with its requisite introductions, notes and indices fills over six hundred pages. The first and most important piece in the selection is 'The Testament of Love.' In connection with this two notable discoveries have been made, for which we are indebted to Mr. H. Bradley. In the first place he has shown that its author was Thomas Usk, sometime Sub-Sheriff of Middlesex, and executed in 1388 for being concerned in the troubles of the time. In the second he has placed the text which had become dislocated through a number of the sheets getting loose, in its right order, and thus made it intelligible to the great relief of commentators. This is followed by the 'Plowman's Tale,' which does not appear in Thynne's 1532 edition, but appears for the first time in that of 1542, where it is added at the end of the Canterbury Tales, after the 'Parson's Tale,' though obviously not by Chaucer, the author of it claiming to have written the well known piece entitled 'Pierce the Ploughman's Creed,' a claim for which there appears to be ample confirmation. Among others, besides those already mentioned, we have 'Jack Upland,' three pieces by Thomas Hoccleve—'The Letter of Cupid' and two ballads—Lydgate's 'Compleynte of a Black Knight,' the 'Ballad of Good Counsel, etc., 'La Belle Dame Sans Merci,' by Sir Richard Ros, Henryson's 'Testament of Cresseid,' Sir Thomas Clanvowe's 'The Cuckoo and the Nightingale,' together with 'The Flower and the Leaf' and the 'Court of Love.' The total number of pieces is twenty-eight. Each of them is furnished with an introduction in which various matters are discussed. The notes, as it is hardly necessary to say, are full and of that scholarly and informing character which distinguishes all Dr. Skeat's annotations. Three indices are added, among which is an ample glossarial index. Altogether the volume is a worthy companion to the six which have preceded it, and forms a notable and necessary supplement to what is unquestionably the best edition of Chaucer which has ever been issued.

The Poetical Works of William Wordsworth. Edited by WILLIAM KNIGHT. Vol. VIII. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1896.

With this volume is completed Mr. Knight's Eversley Edition of Wordsworth's poems. The edition, so far as outward appearance is concerned, is all that can be desired. Paper, printing, shape and binding are excellent, as all who know the other volumes in Messrs. Macmillan's 'Eversley' Series are aware. As for the editing, it is a considerable advance upon that of Mr. Knight's previous edition of the same poems. Mr. Knight, though indefatigable and conscientious, is not a model editor. Still he has here done excellent work and in many respects what he has done is unsurpassed. The notes in the present volume are good; here and there they are perhaps too voluminous. On two or three pages we are treated to a number of extracts from Bædeker, who is not exactly an authority. One sonnet seems to be missing from the volumes. All through the chronological system of arrangement has been adopted, but in this volume the order has been broken. Listening to Mr. Aubrey De Vere, Mr. Knight has placed the 'Ode, Intimations of Immortality' last, or at the end of the poems of 1846, instead of among those of 1807, in order that it may 'conclude the whole series of Wordsworth's poems, as the greatest, and that to which all others lead up.' It is very questionable whether all the others do lead up to it; it may safely be said in fact that they do not. The poem is certainly one of the best Wordsworth ever produced, but to ask us to believe that it is in every way that in which all his thought and poetical work are reflected or culminate is a demand which few of Wordsworth's admirers will be disposed to grant. Besides the remainder of Wordsworth's own poems, the volume contains those which were composed by him and his sister Dorothy. Pretty full bibliographies
—British, American and French—are given. In the preface, Mr. Knight acknowledges the assistance received from his friends and has a number of remarks to make on the criticisms which the publication of his volumes have called forth.

English Minstrelsie: A National Monument of English Song.
Collected and Edited, with Notes and Historical Introductions, by S. BARING-GOULD, M.A. The Airs, in both Notations, arranged by H. FLEETWOOD SHEPPARD, M.A., and others. Vol. VIII. Edinburgh: T. C. & E. C. Jack.

This is the concluding volume of Mr. Baring-Gould's admirable collection of English folk-songs. We have already had occasion to refer to it more than once; and all that we need to do now is to congratulate the editor on the completion of what in many respects is easily the best modern collec-

tion of English popular songs. The publishers and musical editors as well deserve to be congratulated. The work is handsomely printed, and the harmonies so far as we have tested them are bold and melodious. It may be remarked, however, that in the present volume there are several songs which have not been in print before. The notes to the whole of the songs are full of information, much of which is of a somewhat out of the way character, and all of it interesting to the professional, and as well to the non-professional, reader. The editor and his musical colleagues have evidently spared no pains, and the work well deserves to be called A National Monument of English Song.

Modern Mythology. By Andrew Lang, M.A., LL.D. Longmans, Green & Co.: London, New York, and Bombay. 1897.

This volume owes its origin to certain strictures made by Mr. Max Müller in his recent Contributions to the Science of Mythology on a number of statements made by Mr. Andrew Lang and other members of the New School of Mythologists. It is essentially controversial and to a large extent personal, Mr. Lang being chiefly concerned with explaining his own words, and with defending the opinions they convey, though here and there he touches upon those larger questions which his controversy with the Oxford Professor necessarily involves. The controversy is carried on throughout in the best of tempers, and whether Mr. Lang manages to convince his opponent or not, he has certainly set himself right with the public, and placed the points at issue in the clearest light. Something of this sort was necessary, for there can be no question that on most of the points here referred to Mr. Lang has been misunderstood by his learned critic. In these cases the author has no difficulty in setting himself right. As might be expected, however, there is nothing in the volume which can be said to be new. Mr. Lang states with clearness the theories as to the origin of myths which are held by the school of which Mr. Max Müller is unquestionably the chief, and those of the newer school of writers, and when not controverting the statements of his opponent or correcting his unintentional misrepresentations is employed not in the developing any new theory, but simply in the elucidation of the theory with which he is now identified. As in all his books there is in the present volume a certain grace and charm of style, and in spite of its controversial character the world would be less rich without it. It has the merit of correcting what is wrong, and of elucidating a doctrine which in the study of mythology promises to hold the field.

A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles. Edited by JAMES A. H. MURRAY. Vol. III. Doom-Dziggetai. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1897.

The letter D and with it the third volume of this magnificent work is here completed. As the work advances one's admiration of it increases. For fulness and accuracy it is simply unequalled. Suspected omissions always turn out to be myths; patient search always finds the word wanted with an abundance of information regarding it. As we have before remarked it is as much a Dictionary of Scottish as of English, as based upon the principles it is it can scarcely help being. The number of Scottish words in the present section is considerable, and not a few of them are of more than ordinary interest. Take for instance the word Dusane, the old name for a Town Council. In a few sentences its whole history is clearly

told. Or take dowf or dowie or dovekie, dram (sad), drappie, dreadom, dree, drink-siller, drouthy, drook, the treatment of these and of many others in the same dialect is all that can be desired, and much fuller than they meet with in many dictionaries. Many of the words in this section are from an historical point of view extremely interesting, as e.g., dragon, dragoon, duke, ducat, dunce, Dutch, and the words derived from them. As showing the elaborate treatment given here it may be mentioned that draw has no fewer than eighteen columns devoted to it, while double, its derivatives and compounds, has thirteen. In respect to fulness, indeed, no other dictionary can show anything like what is here. While in the corresponding portion of the Century Dictionary 2,302 words are recorded, here we have 4,535, and while Richardson's gives 1,517 illustrative quotations and the Century 2,688, we have here no fewer than 17,460. The work is of national importance and deserves national support.

Kingcraft in Scotland and other Essays and Sketches. By Peter Ross, LL.D. Paisley: Alex. Gardner.

Of the fourteen Essays contained in this volume the majority are about Scotland or Scotsmen. The first, which furnishes the title to the book, is not so much about Kingcraft as about the various Kings who have sat upon the throne of Scotland. For the most part it consists of a description of their characters. The two which follow have for their respective titles 'The Progress of Popular Liberty in Scotland,' and 'Scotland under Cromwell.' Neither of them can be said to add to our knowledge, while the second of them deals with Scotland under Charles I. and Charles II. quite as much as of Scotland under Cromwell. The shorter Essays treating of Scottish topics are of more value than the others since they treat of the by-ways of Scottish history and deal with subjects known to but few. The most singular of the essays has for its title 'St. Andrew and other Scottish Saints.' One scarcely knows whether it is written in earnest or in jest. At anyrate we have Dr. Ross's word for the fact that 'in one notable respect St. Andrew stands out in bold relief in the very extensive calendar of saints, and that is his thorough respectability.' Dr. Ross is not prepared to certify the same of many other Saints, nor even of the rest of the Seven Champions of Christendom, with the exception of St. Patrick, of whom he says, 'not a word can truthfully be said that is not to his credit.' The last of the essays is on Kello, the minister of Spott, a preacher approved by Knox and Spottiswood and 'the good Lord James,' but who had actually murdered his wife. The story of the crime for, which Kello was afterwards hanged, is told with great circumstance and with no small skill. Dr. Ross has a light pen and sets out his opinions with considerable vigour. To say the least the volume is extremely readable and in many parts instructive.

SHORT NOTICES.

Daniel and the Minor Prophets (Macmillan) is a further volume of Dr. Moulton's 'Modern Reader's Bible.' Here he has compressed the Book of the Prophet Daniel and the writings of the Minor Prophets into one of his amall volumes. The arrangement is in some respects an advantage; but in order to carry it out Dr. Moulton has been obliged to curtail his introductions and notes. These are always of service to the reader, and it would perhaps have been better and more acceptable if the alternative had been adopted of increasing the volume in thickness.

Lord Bolingbroke (Roxburghe Press), by the Hon. Stuart Erskine, contains besides a brief sketch of Bolingbroke's life a number of extracts from his political writings. The extracts are made with skill, and the sketch of their author's life, though brief, illustrates his position in English politics.

Mr. Davey's Victoria (Queen and Empress) (Roxburghe Press), is evidently a Jubilee book; but whether or not, it contains an exceedingly well written account of the Queen's life and reign, and is admirably adapted for popular reading.

An addition to Messrs. Oliphant, Anderson, & Ferrier's 'Famous Scots Series' is a brief Life of Sir Walter Scott, by George Saintsbury. As a condensed narrative of the great novelist's life the little volume may be commended. One does not expect to find anything new in it, and with the exception of Mr. Saintsbury's opinions about Sir Walter and his writings one does not find anything, unless it be the story of how Sir Walter came to use the word whomled. The word is so commonly used both in the North of England and in Scotland that the story is more likely fictitious than true—much more we should say.

The Fourth Annual Report on Changes in Wages and Hours of Labour in the United Kingdom, 1896, has appeared some months earlier than was expected, and at the present moment may prove of more interest than such publications usually do. It contains a vast mass of figures and information both respecting the changes which have taken place in the hours of labour among almost all classes of work-people and respecting the changes in their earnings. From the figures collected it would appear that in 1896 the net result of all the changes recorded was a rise of wages which amounted in the aggregate to £27,000 a week. The increase, though shared in more or less by all the important groups of trades except mining, is accounted for chiefly by a general rise of wages in the engineering and shipbuilding trades. Owing to a very slight increase in the hours of labour of building operations, the number of persons whose hours of labour were increased was in 1896 more than doubled; still the net effect of all the changes in this respect was a reduction of hours amounting on the aggregate to 78,533 per week, compared with 44,105 in 1895, and 311,545 in 1894 (when the eight hours day was adopted in Government establishments), and 68,937 in 1893.

The Making of England (Macmillan), by J. R. Green. This is a new edition of the late J. R. Green's well known work. It appears in Messrs. Macmillan's now famous 'Eversly' Series. Having said that, it is not necessary to say more, except that it occupies two volumes, and is a reprint of the original edition of 1881.

Bibliography of Gilbert White (London, Roxburgh Press).—Mr. Edward A. Martin here gives much more than his title promises. The actual bibliography of the Natural History of Selborne occupies only about a third of the volume. The first two chapters contain such particulars as are known of White's life, and the composition of his book, together with various selections from it. In the course of these chapters Mr. Martin discusses many points raised by the letters, and indicates how White anticipated many of the most important investigations of modern naturalists. His remarks on earth-worms, for instance, might serve as a motto to Darwin's book. After the bibliographical chapters comes one on Gilbert White as a Poet, and others on the Village of Selborne, White's house, and The Wakes, in the last of which there is much interesting informa-

tion about the relics of White. The book should interest all who are acquainted in any degree with the Natural History of Selborne.

The Scot in America (Raeburn Book Company, New York), by Peter Ross, LL.D., is a book that will appeal to many Scotsmen. Dr. Ross has collected his material from a very great variety of sources, and has attempted to say something about every Scotsman who has in any way risen above the crowd in America, and distinguished himself in literature, trade, commerce, politics, or the pulpit.

In American Humourists: Resent and Living (Alex. Gardner) Mr. Ford has sketched the lives of nineteen of the best known American Humourists and given samples of their work. In its way, as need hardly be said, Mr. Ford's work is intensely amusing. He seems to be thoroughly acquainted with this species of American literature, and has selected for quotation the best examples. The biographical sketches are slight, but any want in this direction is counterbalanced by the skill with which he has selected his illustrations.

Wild Flower Lyrics (Alex. Gardner), by James Rigg, is a rather bulky collection of of verses in which the author gives expression to the thoughts and sentiments awakened in his mind for the most part by the flowers and fruits of the fields. Nothing, indeed, that grows in the field or garden is beneath his notice. We have even a number of verses addressed to the Potato, the Solanum tuberosum, as Mr. Rigg informs us. They begin:—

'Hail—thou that ne'er wast preed by Plato— My muse wad woo thee, plump Potato.'

Here and there, too, we have a song. There can be no doubt, however, that Mr. Rigg has considerable skill and facility in writing verses and a lively fancy. Now and then he repeats himself, and sometimes he indulges in tautology. 'Flora' occurs a little too frequently in his pages, but that may perhaps be accounted for by the prevailing topic of the lines.

From the Hills of Dream (Geddes & Colleagues), by Fiona Macleod, is a collection of mountain songs and runes. They breathe the spirit of the Western Highlands, and are probably the best expression of the new Celtic renascence which has yet appeared. There is a certain dimness of outline in the thoughts, and here and there one has considerable difficulty in making out what is meant; but everywhere the expression is exalted and impassioned.

FICTION.

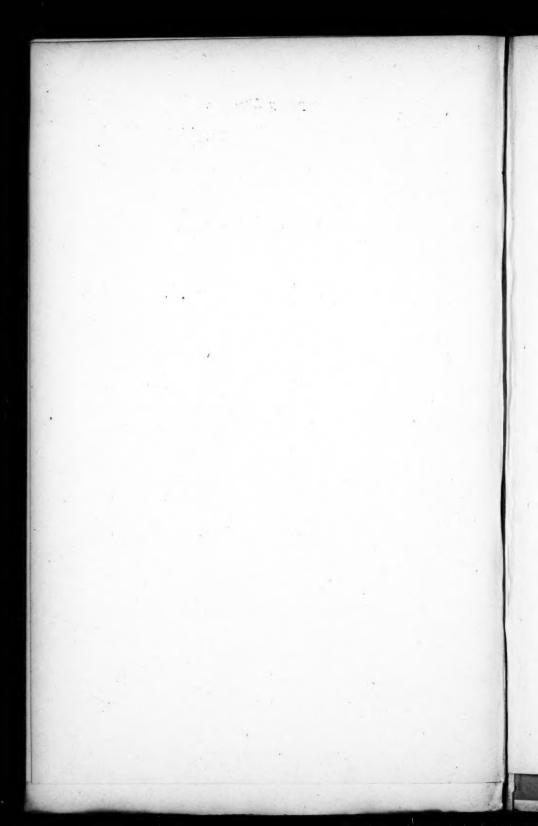
The Secretar (Alex. Gardner), by D. Beatty. This story is founded on that of the famous Casket Letters, and the 'Secretar' is Maitland of Lethington. The title of the book, however, gives no idea of the hurly-burly there is in its pages. From beginning to end it is one string of adventures, fightings and hairbreadth escapes following each other with the utmost rapidity. There is enough incident in the volume to furnish half a dozen novels. Mr. Beatty has evidently no lack of inventive power. The plot is so contrived that the reader is unable to tell how it is to end until he reaches the last page. There is just a touch of improbability about the story; still, in the times to which it belongs, it was no uncommon thing for youths with some clerkly faculty, like the hero of the story, to get mixed up with State matters and to play an important part in them. Any one who knows the period will not be at all surprised that John Kilgour, a Cupar lad, brought up at the feet of Father Clement, and exercised in the arts as well as in arms, though from force of circumstances compelled

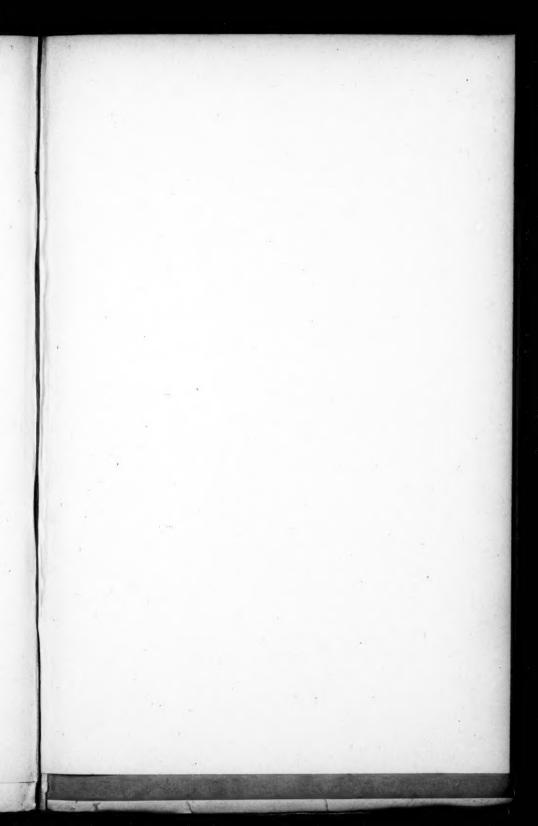
to be a 'Drawer of Tippenny,' should have many and intimate dealings with Maitland and play a not unimportant part in the politics of the time. The story is written in the first person and in braid Scots, somewhat after the manner of Mr. Crockett, but with improvements. One or two passages, though true enough historically, might be omitted. With these omissions the volume might take its place beside the works of Galt and Miss Ferrier, as a romance of the period to which it belongs in which scenes and characters are drawn with a bold and powerful hand.

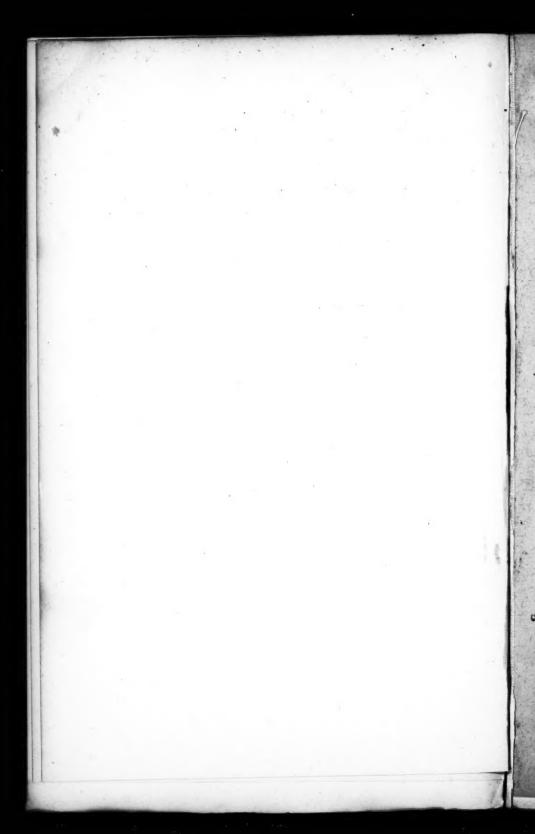
While the Billy Boils (Simpkin Marshall & Co.), by Henry Lawson, is a collection of Australian stories by an Australian writer. Most of them are tantalisingly short; all of them are attractive; some of them are pathetic. As showing what life in the bush is they are probably of more value than some more pretentious narratives. Mr. Lawson has the art of telling a story, and here uses it with success.

The Plagiarist (Oliphant Anderson), by William Myrtle, is a story of Edinburgh student life. The moral of the story is good but the incidents are of the improbable kind. The ending is saddening. Why should the Professor's daughter be made to spend her life in misery because her husband was a villain and met with his death when meddling with matters he had no business to meddle with, when, indeed, he was showing himself unworthy of her and an enemy to her peace? Besides, one would have imagined that from the opportunities she had of observing him and his works she would have seen enough to have refused to marry him. Short as the story is it might with advantage have been shorter.

For Stark Love and Kindness (Oliphant Anderson) by N. Allan Macdonald, carries us back to the times of Flodden Field, and is full of stirring incidents. The scene is cast for the most part near Linlithgow; King James IV. and his son figure in the story, and an almost still more important personage, so far as the plot is concerned, is Armstrong, the Border King. Mr. Macdonald has given to his story a thoroughly mediæval air. There is the usual dungeom—this time with a secret egrees—and the faithful retainer and faithful hound. The story turns upon the question whether May, the supposed niece of the Raider, but the real daughter of Rob Gib, who serves the king for 'stark love and kindness,' shall become the wife of Henry Armstrong or Alan Douglas, a disguised member of the exiled house. May prefers the latter, but the difficulties in the way are enormous. They are skilfully handled, and, as the somewhat complicated plot develops, the reader's attention is cleverly held.







THE

SCOTTISH REVIEW.

OCTOBER, 1897.

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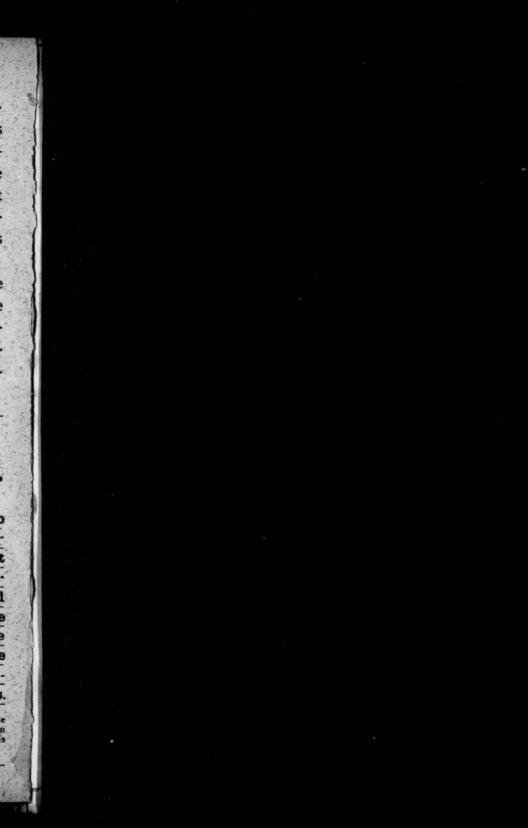
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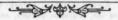
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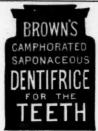
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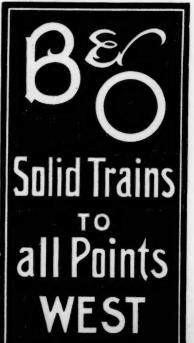
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